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NATIONAL REVIEW

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July 2, 1963

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

HOW SHOULD YOU RATE YOUR CONGRESSMAN?

By D. G. M. COXE

A Conservative Pope?

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

The Profumo Affair: It's a Girl!

COLM BROGAN

Also In This Issue:

BURNHAM SPOTS A NEW COLD WAR TREND ◆ HACKER ON THE GREAT ROEPKE ◆ AND EDITORIALS ON THE SUPREME COURT AND OTHER MATTERS, GRAVE & TRIVIAL

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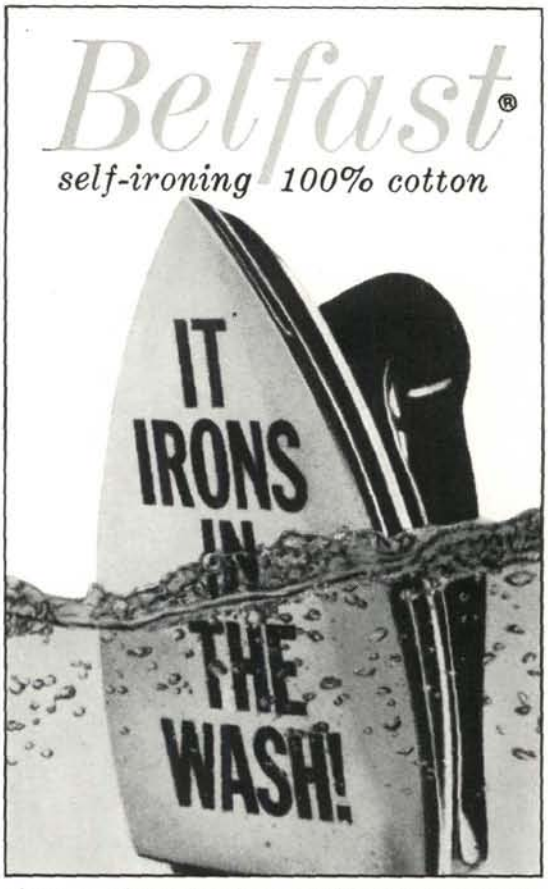

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EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS

James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall,
Frank S. Meyer, William F. Rickenbacker
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION: Martha Butler, Arlene Croce
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

ASSOCIATES

Frank Chodorov, D. G. M. Coxe,
Morrie Ryskind, Timothy J. Wheeler

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, Colm Brogan, John Chamberlain,
John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, Guy Davenport, A. Derso,
Joan Didion, M. Stanton Evans, Finis Farr, David Franke,
J. D. Futch, Aloise B. Heath, Will Herberg, Hugh Kenner,
James Jackson Kilpatrick, John D. Kreuttner,
Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn, J. B. Matthews,
Vincent Miller, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer,
Kenneth Shorey, Ralph de Toledano,
W. H. von Dreele, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen,
Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

ART DIRECTOR: James W. O'Bryan
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Robert J. White
PROMOTION MANAGER: Patrick J. Gorman
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Michael M. Mooney

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In This Issue . . .

➔ **Colm Brogan,** a Londoner who was *not* a friend of Stephen Ward, writes a "shortened account of a scandal that makes even the Abdication affair look like a private spat over the tea cups in a vicarage tea party." As ever, Mr. Brogan performs with wit and trenchancy, and with a tough Scottish resistance to English cant. Did you see, the other day, where Mr. Brogan's brother, D.W., was knighted by the Queen? . . . **Don Coxe,** of NATIONAL REVIEW's staff, has deeply probed the two standard indexes of good and bad political behavior, the ADA's (Americans for Democratic Action) and the ACA's (Americans for Constitutional Action). He examines such paradoxes as a congressman who manages to do rather well by both criteria (*i.e.*, prove himself, statistically, to be a good conservative *and* a good Liberal), and shows how this can happen, and how it might be corrected. Ideally, he says, you should be able to add a politician's ACA and ADA ratings and always reach one hundred, or thereabouts.

➔ **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** writes about the next pope—who is he likely to be, who is he almost certain not to be, and what will be the symbolic meaning of this man's election or that man's. . . . And **James Burnham** discusses the meeting at Addis Ababa and the doings in Malaysia as indications of coalescing power centers which one day will do away with the prevailing bipolarity. . . . Our Washington correspondent, Mr. **Cato,** just barely made his deadline this week, but what would you have done about it, when he gave as his excuse that he had been hit by a tornado? He didn't mean the Democratic whip of the Senate, either: he meant a *tornado*, which came ripping into his beach cottage on Sunday, mussing up the house, and very nearly mussing up Cato the Younger. But the paterfamilias survived, and lives to fight another day. If you find anything in his writings in the future that suggests a softness for federal insurance for tornados, you may suspect the fine Roman hand of Cato.

➔ **Louis Hacker,** who was once dean of Columbia University, and is himself a best-selling author (*Triumph of American Capitalism, Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition, American Capitalism*), views Wilhelm Roepke—a contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW, among his other distinctions—as belonging to the truly great tradition of political economists. He reviews, specifically, Roepke's *The Economics of the Free Society*. . . . **Guy Davenport,** in an extraordinarily good mood, reviews favorably, very favorably, no less than three new novels, the latest of O'Hara, the last of Dinesen and the first of Rubin. . . . **Sir Arnold Lunn** writes about the strengths and weaknesses of a book on the behavior of his beloved Swiss during the Second World War. . . . And **Priscilla Buckley,** while not wishing to offend any member of the reviewing fraternity, confides that an evening with *Tovarich* is a fun evening. ➔

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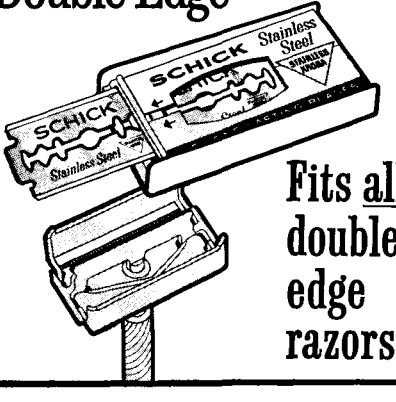

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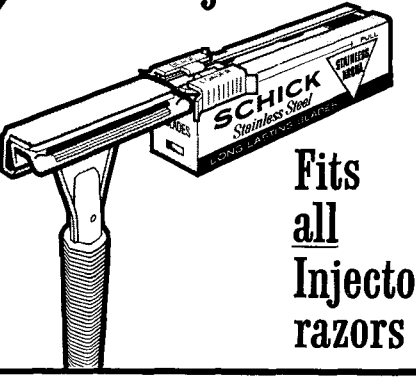

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The WEEK

● As we go to press, the astronaut and the gynecosmonaut have just landed, though they appear to have missed the great celestial osculation which was planned for them by The Planners—who, by the way (you don't mind, do you, if we do a little orbiting of our own?), seem to have managed this one a little better than those super-neat, automated, click-click-click performances of the past, in which astronauts lazed through the whole business, like Rubinstein playing Chopsticks. Maybe someone told them that a good audience must smell drama. They haven't come out and confessed that something went wrong, but it is obvious to a worldly audience that the boy and the girl didn't go up there at the same time to walk down separate sides of the street, not gorgeous Soviet manhood and gorgeous Soviet womanhood. One of these days they'll put *real* drama into the show by allowing one Westerner with a Brownie to witness the launching.

● The Area Redevelopment Act was sired by John Kennedy out of the West Virginia Primary. Billed as a panacea for depressed areas, it turned out to be just another boondoggle. The ARA built motels in areas where existing motels were only 54 per cent full; last year it spent more than half its entire budget for public facilities on a gigantic luxury resort in Oklahoma; it is building a plywood mill in an area where many local mills are closing for lack of business; and, of course, almost all its loans have been made to districts represented by Democrats. When it asked the House last week for a fat new authorization, wherewith to do more of the same for America, it found that *this* area had redeveloped its thinking all by itself: the bill was rejected 209-204.

● A First!—Senator Stephen Young (D., Ohio) has actually protested a government expenditure. Uh, not protested, really, but he takes a "dim view" of the government manual "How To Raise Rabbits." He really wants equal time: a manual on "How Not To Raise Rabbits."

● Nelson Rockefeller entered New York politics with an array of credentials whose initial glitter hasn't stood the test of time and power. A nice clean-cut sort of chap? The recent scandals in his administration have taken the shine off that. Well, he's so rich he can afford to be above politics? Ask a dozen men whose campaigns for local office have been rudely twisted on order from Albany. Ah, but he's a devoted husband and father, a fine family man? Huh. How about the old cry of Fiscal Integrity? Rocky used that slogan even last year, although the outcry against his 49 per cent rise in state expenditures and 55 per cent rise in state taxes rather drowned out his fiscal lyrics. And now even the New York press, joining the charge, has closed in for a view of the facts, what with Walter MacDonald of the *Telegram* expressing "considerable doubt on the genuineness" of Rocky's budget boasts, and the *Times* devoting two editorials to Rocky's "new and ingenious methods of disguising his departure from the vaunted pay-as-you-go-policy," accusing him of "fiscal gimmickry" and conceding that the governor "needs no outside help in getting himself into trouble . . . [he is] voluntarily digging a political hole for himself. . . ."

● Let it be recorded, as of mid-June 1963, in the twilight of the republic founded upon a constitution whose only source of power was the respect implicitly tendered to the law by its people and their elected and appointed officials, that the Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Robert Kennedy, has taken the most serious legal question of our time out into the streets, there to discuss it, from a scaffold, before a riotous throng, his hair flapping in the wind, one hand in his pocket, the other holding the symbol of modern statecraft: a megaphone.

● The NAACP statement concluded: "We serve notice on these recalcitrant Negroes who persistently seek to stem the freedom tide—that the overwhelming mass of black Americans in New Rochelle [New York] and all over America hold no brief for them, no recognition and no respect; that they shall be repudiated and isolated because their lack of faith and commitment to the Negro cause for full equality places them with the enemies of freedom." What had this particular group of Negroes done? They had lifted their voices against the projected closing of the Lincoln School, an all Negro school in New Rochelle—on the grounds that their children would be happier at Lincoln than if transported all over town and placed in small groups among the richer suburban white school population. In short, they had acted as parents first, and Negroes second.

● A medieval approach to taxation was proposed last week by Lester Pearson's Canadian government. During the Middle Ages, it was common for countries to levy special taxes, to be paid only by Jews. Pearson demands special—and much higher—tax rates for foreign-owned companies. (For "foreign-owned," read "American-owned.") There's also to be a tax on management fees paid to foreigners. Americans own more than half of Canada's industry, both because of larger American capital resources, and be-

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cause Canadians are diffident about investing in equities. Rather than punishing Americans for buying a good thing when they see it, Pearson would be wise to stimulate local participation in company ownership by giving Canadians a tax break on dividend income. "Yankee, go home" signs look particularly grotesque in the stock exchange.

● 1) Venezuelan terrorists attempt the assassination of President Betancourt; they attack American consular offices and businesses in Caracas. 2) Peruvian police round up seven young guerrillas, find all seven were students who had left some time ago for Havana on Castro scholarships; 3) the Cuban Student Directorate (which pinpointed the Soviet missile emplacements in Cuba a month ahead of JFK) reports 168 African Communists have already been landed in Haiti after intensive training in a Cuban school for subversion at Minos del Frío, Cuba, and more will be landed in the months ahead; 4) the OAS report on Communist subversion in Latin America remarks the infiltration of Cuban-trained terrorists into Ecuador, Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina; 5) Tarantel Press reports 150 members of the illegal *Partido Popular Democrático* (the CP of Panama) are now in training in Cuba; 6) *Free Cuba News* publishes the exact location of ten Communist training camps in Cuba, two of them under command of famous Red Spanish civil war generals, Alberto Bayo and Enrique Lister; 7) the Caribbean Yenan grows stronger hour by hour, and each moment of indecision in Washington costs an added toll of human life in the inevitable military assault upon Castro-Communism in this hemisphere. Is the President waiting for a world war to stop Castro?

● Janet Jagan, 43, formerly a member of the Young Communist League in Chicago, now wife of pro-Communist Premier Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana and secretary of the dominant, pro-Communist People's Progressive Party, has been chosen to succeed Claude Christian as Home Affairs Minister. As such, Mrs. Jagan will be in charge of British Guiana's internal security.

● A reader in Australia writes: ". . . the Australian Communist Party now dominates the Labor Party in two of six Australian states, and commands great influence in two others. A few weeks ago, the Communists caused a deep national crisis by almost persuading the Labor Party conference to demand the cancellation of an impending U.S. radio base at Exmouth Gulf in Western Australia designed to direct submarines. A compromise resolution on the matter, very unsatisfactory in character, was adopted. Professor Frank Knopfelmacher, active in the labor and social democratic movement, but strongly anti-Communist, publicized the facts of Soviet anti-Semitism, and proposed a United Nations inquiry. The Labor Party took a very hostile attitude toward this proposal and subjected all of those behind it to public defamation. The situation is deteriorating rapidly, both internally and externally. The influence of Red China bulks large and groups of influential church leaders have gone on tours to that country and come back to serve as its palliators."

● West Virginia Wesleyan College has a conservative in its economics department named Harold Hughes. Over a considerable period, Dr. Hughes was under pressure from the college authorities to change his presentation of the subject matter. It seems that Dr. Hughes is also something of an historian: whenever he presented socialistic concepts, he would go on to show where they had failed. On April 1 this year, Miles Stanley, state chairman of the AFL-CIO, wrote a letter to the college president scorching Dr. Hughes for teaching out-of-date economics. Two weeks later the popular and highly competent Dr. Hughes was fired.

● The Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, an unhurried group founded by NATIONAL REVIEW associate Frank Chodorov to help interested students pursue scholarly researches in the philosophy of liberty, ably led by Mr. Victor Milione, will once again sponsor summer schools featuring the related disciplines—economics, political theory, philosophy and foreign affairs. The schools will be held in late August at C. W. Post College (N.Y.), Lake Forest (Ill.) and Claremont Men's College (Cal.). ISI pays tuition, room, and board. For the particulars and an application form, students are invited to write to the nearest ISI office, or to the national headquarters: 629 Public Ledger Building, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania.

● THERE'LL ALWAYS BE AN ENGLAND: The Young Conservatives of Bournemouth, who had scheduled a pajama party for July 18, hurriedly changed their plans in the wake of the Profumo scandal. Guests are now invited to come—as tramps.

● The Society to Help White Liberals Integrate has been organized in Washington D.C. "to assist integrationists in locating appropriate housing, educational facilities and job opportunities." Initial assistance will be given to the Attorney General, presently living in segregated McLean, Va. The SHWLI plans to locate suitable housing for him in Washington's Northeast. A placement service is to be started at major universities so that white Freedom Riders and friends can immediately be located in Negro businesses on graduation. And the society is promising one

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police dog as a prize to the first Supreme Court Justice who moves into an integrated area. "The choice of the police dog was made with the idea that such animals will be good company for the Justices' wives while their husbands are out fighting discrimination," says SHWLI president Jerry Davis, adding, "In the event that Justice Douglas wins his divorce suit, the dog will be presented to the wife of his choice."

Goldwater

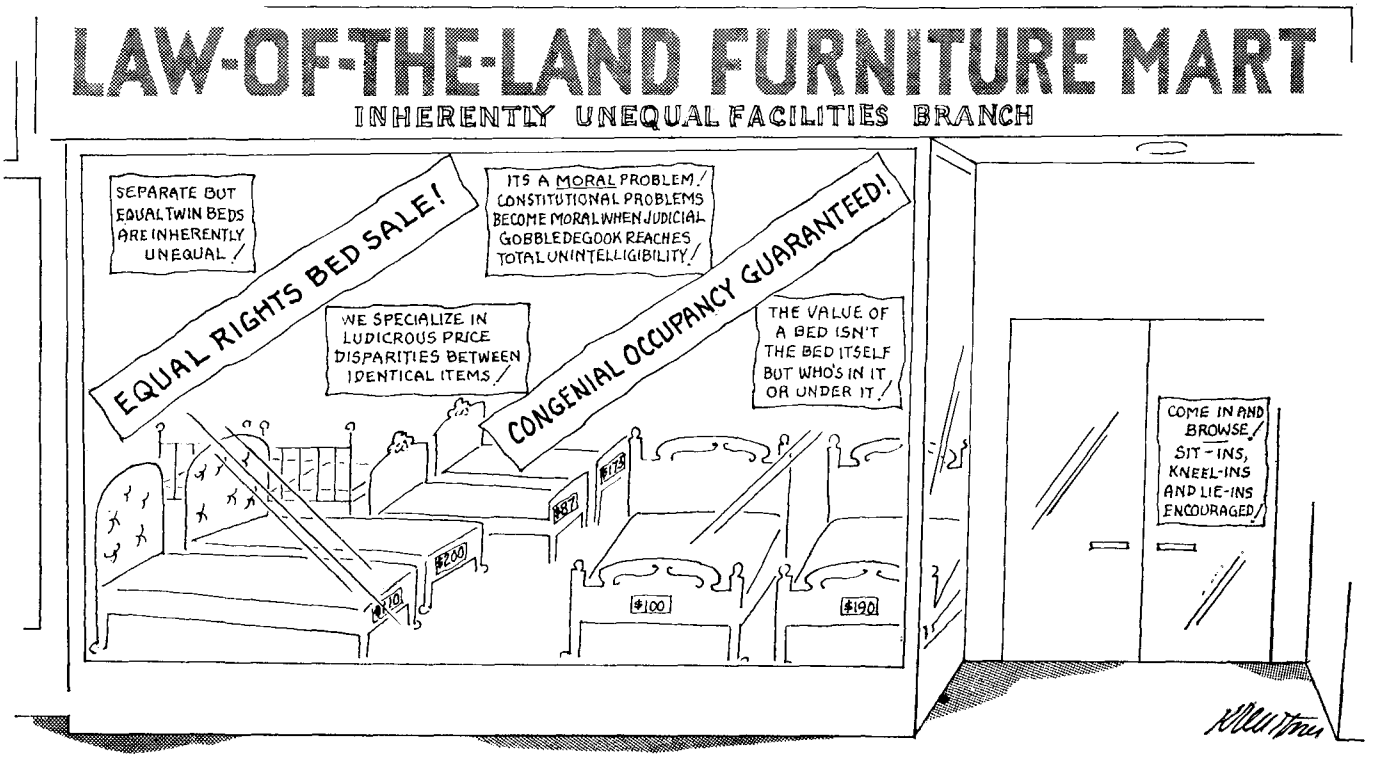
George Romney is almost certainly going to make the race. But the lead now enjoyed by Senator Goldwater is so dramatic as to chill the resolution of the opposition. Nixon said, recently, a nice thing about Goldwater. Even Clifford Case said he could "imagine" the circumstances under which he would back Goldwater. At Hershey, Pennsylvania, Mr. Eisenhower presided over a six-hour meeting of the (Republican) Citizens Committee, which when founded a year ago was widely supposed to be a vehicle for bringing support to the Liberal alternative to Barry Goldwater. Surprisingly, at Hershey there was no anti-Goldwater fever, and no opponent to Goldwater emerged as the natural candidate of the Progressive wing.

Granted, the Establishment has not cranked up a real campaign against Goldwater yet, of the kind it put on against Robert Taft in the spring of 1952. But at that time Eisenhower was the dramatic alternative; now the boys don't have anyone seriously in the running (one must assume that Rockefeller will need more than a year's rehabilitation before regaining enough prestige to think about the Presidency) whose name is known to more than the 7 per cent of the electorate who know Romney's name. It looks now as though only defeat in the primaries can keep Goldwater from getting the nomination. And this, of course, could happen. As we say, the Establishment has yet to flex its muscles.

Meanwhile Mr. Goldwater is accepting fatalistically the forthcoming ordeal. A few months ago he was dead set against running. Now, fortified by the great expressions of faith in him and his ideals, emboldened by the clear necessity to do something to remove Mr. Kennedy from office, he has, for all intents and purposes, said that he would make the race.

Enter Muhammed?

Every day, in every way, things are getting worse and worse. It wouldn't be so bad if, while running through the darkening wood, we knew we were headed toward daylight, but we don't know any such thing. The Negro people have been encouraged to ask for, and to believe they can get, nothing less than the evanescence of color, and they are doomed to founder on the shoals of existing human attitudes —their own included. Never mind whether these rise up from greed, or envy, or pride, or fear, or ethnocentrism—they are tough and sharp, a graveyard for any dreamboat that tries to glide over them. The assistant to Dr. King has said that the goal of his organiza-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For the Record

Rep. Richard L. Roudebush (R., Ind.) first to announce he will submit constitutional amendment to permit Bible-reading and prayers in schools. . . . A Committee for Religious Liberty being formed to press for such a constitutional amendment. . . . Flooding Supreme Court mail since last Monday, postcards reading: "Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they do." . . . Adlai Stevenson intimates hint he may get next Supreme Court appointment. (Why not?)

Frank Kovacs, executive director of the GOP National Finance Committee, has quit to take over fund-raising chore for the National Draft Goldwater Committee. . . . The Committee's July 4 send-off rally in Washington, D.C. (National Guard Armory) looks like big success. . . . Several Eastern Air Lines Constellations have been chartered to ferry Barryites to D.C. from far points; Mississippi alone has 22 billboards already up advertising the rally. . . . Political polls continue to show Goldwater moving up: In George Romney's Michigan, of 47 GOP county chairmen who replied to a Detroit Free Press Goldwater v. Rockefeller poll: 33 voted for Goldwater, only 14 for Rockefeller. In Florida, when 600 GOP leaders were polled (and an unusually high 74 per cent replied), the results were: Goldwater, 84 per cent; Romney, 7 per cent; Rockefeller, 6 per cent; Scranton & field, 3 per cent. . . . Sen. Clifford Case, who declared for Rocky on April 16, now (June 14) says it is too early to take a stand or make a judgment, admits he might "under certain circumstances" support BG.

European financial circles alarmed by story that Soviets have bought into Swiss banking community; could be setting stage for international economic hanky-panky. . . . Common Market, fully aware of Communist economic warfare plans, will set yearly quota, starting in 1964, on imports of oil and coal from Communist bloc. Ten per cent considered danger point in these imports; Italy now gets 18 per cent of its oil from Communist sources.

Heard in Washington: "The Kennedy Administration has developed an incredible new export market: olive branches to Moscow."

tion is "total desegregation now in every phase of our lives, in every nook and corner of America—full total, and equal rights for the Negro *now*." Others for instance Whitney Young of the Urban League Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and James Farmer o CORE, suggest it isn't equality that the Negro wil now settle for, but preferential treatment: that is wha the black race in America is now entitled to, in ex piation of the white man's sins against him; an James Baldwin, as we know, has said that the white community must change not merely its attitude toward the Negroes, but its attitude toward all o life; its attitude toward our God. (God is Out.)

And the talk is of a timetable—to reach its peal sometime during the summer, when the Congress i debating the civil rights bill of President Kennedy which calls for abolishing the right of the individua engaged in commerce to discriminate. At that tim "hundreds of thousands" of Negroes will descen on Washington, reports the Southern Christian Lead ership Conference, to sit-in at the Capitol and pres sure the legislation through. If the Southerners fili buster, the Negroes will call for passive resistanc from coast to coast on a massive scale, tying up al transportation—air, railroad, and highway. That i where we are headed. Nobody knows the trouble we'll see.

Meanwhile, a voice is cutting through the hubbul of anxiety which rises from the knowledge, by both sides, that there *is* no solution, as solutions go, to ou dilemma. It is the voice of Elijah Muhammed, th Black Muslim leader, who has parlayed a hatred fo white people, a pseudo religion, a personal magnetism and a chiliastic program into a semi-formidable politi cal movement. But behind the flummery of the Black Muslim movement is a serious idea: the alterna tive of an accommodation between the two com munities, rather than a fusion between them. Every one apologizes for Muhammed and for his possessed and able lieutenant Malcolm X, but there is no deny ing that his rat-tat-tat is beginning to pierce the con sciousness of the Negro people, for he comes forward with a "solution" which has concrete dimensions Don't trust the white folks, says Muhammed—they hate you, and they will never integrate with you in any meaningful way. What we need is separate lives: our own civilization. Where? Back in Africa, he says; or in America; but preferably the former. If in Africa, the U.S. should pay the cost of the migration. If in America, the U.S. should relinquish three or four of its states, evacuate the white resident population, and turn the states over to the Negroes.

In South Africa they call it apartheid. Muhammed believes that Dr. Verwoerd is one of the world's few honest and realistic men.

The apparent grotesqueness of Muhammed's posi-

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tion is undeniable. It is based on racial totalism ("The whites have a profound hatred for the Negroes. We are in a terrible position. We live among a terrible people and we know it"); on a pernicious theology (God is really black. The white men created Christianity to disguise that fact, and to intimidate the Negroes, God's chosen people . . .); and on a revolutionary ardor ("If attacked, we are not supposed to run but to fight back as best we can. We must never be the aggressor. [But] the white men don't respect this"). But the progenitive ugliness distracts less and less from the fact that at least here is a man with a Program. And as other programs fail, which they will, his Program will loom larger and larger. The *New York Times* appears to concede Muhammed's claim, that "his organization, and his alone, stands to gain from racial turmoil in the United States."

God Go Home

The Supreme Court's most recent prayer decision quite logically derived from its decision of a year ago forbidding the prayer of the New York State Regents. Everyone, including this journal, would have predicted the decision, except that of course it is always unsafe to predict that this Court will rule consistently—we have no doubt at all that if a serious protest movement, specifically a call for a constitutional amendment (such a call, do you remember, was endorsed by 49 of the 50 state governors a year ago?), had got under way, the Justices would have gone back and asked their GS-13 Rube Goldbergs to show them how to rule against the Regents Prayer, but for the Bible. (A snap.)

As it is, there was enough of a groundswell to cause them to go on and on about how much each and every one of them loved religion, and how never never would the current position of the Court be extended to forbidding chaplains in the Army, or tax exemption for the schools, no sir, never, not us. Actually, the current fanaticism on the subject of church-state quite consistently calls for the eventual elimination of both the aforesaid practices: but as we say, the Court is not consistent, and there are times when we have God to thank for inconsistency.

The ruling was, of course, also a phony on empirical grounds—there is about as much danger of the establishment of religion in this country as there is of the return of sanity to the Supreme Court. The neurotic Mrs. Murray who brought the action to impose a silence on the subject of God on all the children of the United States who study in public schools, because her moon-faced son's rights are otherwise trampled upon, was the perfect plaintiff, poetically speaking, for this case. Just before the decision, Mrs. Murray gave an interview to *The Realist*. Her opening sentences were: "If I can't come through this case the same offensive, unlovable, bullheaded, defiant, aggressive slob that I was when I started it, then I'll give up now. My own identity is more important to me. They can keep their gawddamn prayers in the public schools, in public outhouses, in public H-bomb shelters and in public whore-houses." Those, as we say, are the words not of the Supreme Court that wrote this decision, but of Madalyn Murray, who brought the case to the Court. You do understand that what has been accomplished, net, is to shield Mrs. Murray's son from exposure to religion in the schools. Religion is for the home.

It remains to be seen whether the nation has energy enough to resist the Supreme Court before which we are always being told to be so reverential. The question becomes, increasingly, How can you revere this nation's historical institutions and also the Supreme Court of the United States?

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

COL. ANTOINE ARGOUD'S STORY: *KIDNAPPED BY DE GAULLE*

L. BRENT BOZELL ON THE PRAYER DECISIONS

The Wilting Dollar

In the week that ended May 29 the U.S. gold reserve declined $30 million, to a total of $15.8 billion (the lowest since 1939). Foreign central banks turn in their dollar claims and take out gold periodically, whenever their dollar claims amount to too high a portion of their own reserves. They build up these dollar claims, of course, from an imbalance in international payments, which arises when the U.S. pays and loans and invests and gives to foreign lands more than it gets from them.

To some extent in recent years the U.S. has lost competitive advantage and so has lost in its commercial dealings with other countries, but even now we earn a net surplus on international commerce. That surplus hasn't been enough to cover our payments in other forms, however: particularly our immense donations under various forms of virtually unaudited foreign aid. As a result, the U.S. gold reserve has slowly hemorrhaged over the years, declining from a peak of some $24 billion about ten years ago. And the situation isn't improving: the current

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rate of international deficit is $3.3 billion a year, based on the first quarter figures, seasonally corrected—against $2.2 billion for all of calendar 1962.

This would normally lead to a stronger gold outflow, but since the first of the year our gold reserve has declined only $180 million, against $450 million in the same period last year. This apparent stability hides an inner decay, however: for the U.S. has prettied up the picture by urging foreign governments to defer their claims on our gold. Thus the foreign dollar claims have flooded into the U.S. securities markets, boosting not only stock prices but also the balances held for foreign account in U.S. government bonds: in the last twelve months, foreign holders have increased their holdings of U.S. securities by $2.1 billion. Since the first of the year U.S. Government securities held by foreign accounts have increased $925 million, as against a decrease of $279 million in the same period last year. Time deposits for foreign account have increased $264 million this year, against $46 million in the same period last year.

And through direct negotiation, if not outright pleading, we have persuaded our major allies not to take payment in gold, but to loan us *their* currencies so we can make payment in francs, marks, pounds, and so on. This is merely borrowing to pay off debts. But we have done it, and on a grand scale: the total of "swap" arrangements now equals $1.6 billion, and the Treasury now holds $630 million worth of foreign currencies in which to make payments rather than making payment in gold.

Any way you look at it, the U.S. is now forced to find some method of honoring its debts other than paying U.S. dollars. This can mean 1) that the U.S. dollar is on the verge of collapse; or 2) that the U.S. dollar has already ceased to be the pivotal currency of the free world; or 3) both.

The Wrong Approach to the UN Problem

It is easy to admire Charles de Gaulle for refusing to turn over French francs to underwrite impulsive UN sallies against the freedom of remote peoples, such as the Katangans. But viewed from another position—the position from which we should as a general rule view these things—the refusal of France to pay her share of the UN's budget is actually a case of pout. Now it may be that the only way to deal with the United Nations, in the absence of other ways, is by pouting; but nullificationism, whether by political or economic pressures, *can* result in anarchy. There is a place for the doctrine of the concurrent majority, and the nullificationist sanction, and so long as Communism is around, the free world powers

can never agree to majority rule; but there are ways and ways of dissenting from majority rule. The question that General de Gaulle begs, by his economic circumvention, is the basic one: namely, what does he understand the authority and constitutional structure of the United Nations to be, when it comes to deploying expensive armies about the world?

Obviously the authority of the UN should, in the eyes of de Gaulle, and in the eyes of NATIONAL REVIEW, fall short of that power which Hammarskjold and U Thant exercised in Katanga. The decision of the Secretariat, backed by the majority vote of the General Assembly, ought not to be enough to satisfy France, or the United States, of the legitimacy of a military operation. Why? Because the reality is that the Afro-Asian bloc increasingly dominates the United Nations. And since this bloc does not represent the major interests of the major powers of the world, it cannot, in the long run, be permitted to run the world's affairs: that is why.

Mr. James Burnham suggested in his column six months ago that the time had come for the United States to face this reality, and that the obvious step for us to take under the circumstances would be to announce that henceforward the United States

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would cease to exercise its vote in the General Assembly. The psychological effect would be enormous, reducing the General Assembly's final voting tallies to the status of the votes of mock conventions of uncommitted nations. France, if it does not wish to follow the Burnham formula, might, instead of continuing its economic sulk, specifically petition the United Nations to re-order the nature of its affiliation with it. For so long as France finds it impossible to commit herself to go along with, and help to subsidize, intolerable acts of intervention by the UN, why not change her role there from that of a member of the UN to that of an observer? And let other nations follow suit until the United Nations General Assembly is reformed, and the power taken from those synthetic majorities that want to go about the world making policy, using the carte blanche of the major powers. De Gaulle should use his prestige, and his enormous capacity for leadership, to do something about the UN, not just sit there, refusing to pay a bill which in fact he owes. You won't tame the UN by putting it in rags: the U.S. will find some way or other to clothe and feed it, and its prestige might very well rise—remember the sympathy vote (*e.g.*, the rich girl in the novel of Randall Jarrell who, having gone to the super-progressive college, and failed ever after to get the fox out of her bosom, finally committed suicide and left all her money to the United Nations). Since one must despair of the prospect that our own leaders will ever show the initiative to reform the UN, we must depend on other people's leaders. De Gaulle's record on the UN (*"les dites nations-unies"*) is plain. He should translate his scorn into reform.

Oh To Be a College Man!

Or: What This Country Needs Is More Higher Education

(Princeton Division)

The following are the thoughts of a senior on graduating from Princeton, as published in the *Princeton Weekly* for June 7, 1963:

"The trouble with me is that I can't believe in anything. On some days I can, but most of the time I am smarter than that. I have been taught to question, not to believe, so I never know where to stop. Do I stop at saying 'damn' in public or do I continue, by questioning the tabu against swearing, which, on the whole, is rather silly? One thing's certain, I can't back up—I can't say, 'Whoa! This is as far as I go.' Modern man, remember, has no tabus, except against the impractical. He is a liberal and for him there is only progress, which he knows is illusory.

"I didn't take part in the riot several weeks ago, but I felt myself very much bound up in it. If anyone is guilty, I am, too. But I don't feel guilty, or penitent, or chastened. If I did, President Goheen would know, he would sense, that there was no need to make all the fuss he did. The fact that he felt compelled to issue statement after statement demonstrates, I think, his basic bewilderment at the riot, as if he were thinking out loud. I was bewildered at the riot, too, and especially at the sentiment it aroused in me. Probing that sentiment, I found that I was, I think, along with the actual rioters, looking for a brick wall to run into, some symbol of resistance which I could get mad at and hit, something to fight. This *physical* desire was stupid, of course, because nothing is solved by hitting a cop, and this is probably why I didn't tag along.

"But the physical desire was just a manifestation of a mental frustration, *a very deep intellectual frustration*. And this is why, if I had taken part in the riot, I would feel, in many respects, unrepentant. Precisely because my intellectual frustration was not resolved by the riot, I feel as if nothing had really happened. I met no resistance, I just kept running; how can I be punished for tiring myself out? The riot, then, had a cause, which was causelessness. I think this reveals something about myself, although my sentiment may not be unique to the present or the past.

"What I want is a cause; what I cannot have is a cause, because I know that causes are the opiate of the masses, who fought two world wars and then said, hush, don't budge a finger or we'll get 'zapped.' Nobody blames older generations for this—my great fear, which is almost a conviction, is that we can do no better. Yet, as in a riot, I just keep running, because I have nothing better to do. This, in essence, has been my Princeton career: running after education, which supposedly begets progress, while at the same time learning that progress is the apple dangled in the face of the draft horse.

"I am therefore unable to define myself. The best I can do is delimit myself, without guilt or joy. I won't stand still, but I am not going to chase money or the chimeras of either Adlai Stevenson or Barry Goldwater. This world of control is composed of brittle crystal, however. Too much control results in loss of control. I am not talking about external control—car rules or income taxes. I am talking about the control I feel I must place upon myself in this dangerous world—for instance, controlling my temptation to believe fanatically in something which might get the Russians mad. And as I say, I can never tell when a day might come when, losing control because I am sick of it, I will go tearing around town in search of a cause. I am quite sure I will find only a brick wall, and if I do. . . ."

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From Washington Straight

CATO

On Friday June 14 some 3,000 Negroes demonstrated peacefully at the White House, the District Building, and the Department of Justice. The demonstration was orderly and well-policed. (Metropolitan Police beefed up its Capitol Hill contingent with walkie-talkie-equipped policemen just in case, but they weren't needed.)

Cato

The calmness of this demonstration assuaged congressional fears that the situation might get out of hand, but a planned sit-in at the Capitol during the forthcoming civil rights debate is causing concern. It is no secret that certain voluble supporters of extreme rights legislation are losing enthusiasm as a result of the sit-in threat. Many privately echo Harry Truman's recent blast at Negro demonstrators. Mr. Truman warned that a Capitol sit-in would cost Negroes the very support they've been able to rely on for years. "If that's what they want, they can have it," he said.

The Republican and Democratic leadership is united on one score—there will be no Capitol Hill sit-in, period. Whatever steps must be taken to head it off will be taken. There is a firmness here that surprises many.

Republicans are privately griping about the series of hastily-called "bipartisan" White House conferences on civil rights. For at least a week before GOP House and Senate leaders were called for the first meeting with JFK, the press kept at them with questions about the conference. When the summons finally came on June 11, Republicans were told the meeting was "top secret," and were ushered into the White House by a side door. But minutes after they had left the Hill, the press was calling their offices to ask about the "secret" meeting.

Republicans believe that any time a Kennedy policy goes sour, JFK makes a well-publicized effort to get the GOP on the hook with him in a bipartisan united front. It's a ploy that's wearing thin.

Anti-McNamara stories are becoming commoner than muggings in Washington, and it's getting impossible to judge their authenticity. With that caveat, one of the juicier can be reported.

Recently, the story goes, JFK called a former Defense Department official to his office to ask advice about the TFX controversy. The official said was not familiar with the situation. JFK turned over his TFX file to him and told him to return when he had formed an opinion.

When the man reported in, he told the President that the TFX matter was a total mess. He said that he had no specific advice, but was asked to talk with McGeorge Bundy anyway. When Bundy asked for his views, he repeated his "total mess" statement, and then added, "The only suggestion I could make is, can McNamara." Bundy is said to have replied, "Well, that just might be possible."

Justice is swift and sure on the New Frontier for any scouts who start running with the Indians. Rep. Roman Pucinski (D., Ill.) has been a faithful White House agent on the Hill. But he recently started criticizing Administration foreign policy on the Captive Nations issue. His special target has been Walt Whitman Rostow, a leading advocate of the "yes we *can* do business with the Russians" school. This kind of insubordination is regarded dimly in high places these days, so a Chicago newspaper was informed by a "White House source" that Pucinski had attacked the Administration because of JFK's alleged refusal to allow him to send one of his children to Caroline Kennedy's school in the White House. When the paper called Pucinski for confirmation, he denied the story He had never made such a request. He was perfectly happy with the private school his children attended. The paper ran the story anyway, but as a precautionary measure forebore to mention Pucinski by name: he was identified only as a "midwestern congressman." Question: will this treatment bring a Democratic congressman who is ideologically in tune with the New Frontier back into line, or will it make an enemy of him?

State Department officials are probably more jealous of their prerogatives than any other group in federal service. For some time now they have been annoyed at the proliferation of overseas "missions" cooked up by other Departments. These missions, they say, drink up embassy booze, take up needed space, and generally make a nuisance of themselves.

Today's grumblings in Foggy Bottom center on reports that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare plans to station some of its people abroad to make "manpower" studies. The Labor Department already has missions studying labor around the world and foreign service officers fear they may soon be crowded right out of the picture.

Jubilant press reports indicate that the Republican effort to cut the massive 1964 budget is failing. Story after story conveys the impression that the Bow (Rep. Frank T., R., O.) Task Force has sunk.

This premature obituary campaign is based on the fact that few appropriations bills have come to the floor recently, and those that have cleared committee have survived without tremendous slashes. The farm bill is a particular case in point.

But some of the fleshier appropriations are still in committee, and they face big cuts. Here are a few that can be expected: Defense—$1.9 billion; NASA—$1.5 billion; foreign aid—$2 billion.

Where's Walter? America's leading exponent of deficit financing, Walter Heller, is missing. Chairman Wilbur Mills (D., Ark.) of the House Ways and Means Committee is reported to have told JFK that if any kind of tax bill at all was going to clear his committee, the President would have to "keep that guy away from Capitol Hill and shut him up."

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How Can You Rate Your Congressman?

Do ACA and ADA rate your congressman accurately? A new look at the ratings and—so help us—a constructive suggestion on how to improve them

DONALD G. M. COXE

Americans love statistics. The Nielsen rating for television shows, the Top Ten scale for popular records, the "vital statistics" for movie actresses, the arithmetical monument compiled for every baseball player—what with all this, we were bound sooner or later to contrive a tally sheet for legislators.

But a difficulty arose immediately, because there was no standard scale of values by which to measure a congressman's performance. We were all agreed that 35-25-35 meant "good," for example, in Hollywood; but it was obvious that a congressman who voted, let's say, consistently against federal expansion would draw cheers (*i.e.*, 100 per cent) from the Right and catcalls (*i.e.*, 0 per cent) from the Left.

And so in the absence of a common scale each side has made up its own. Three nationally known organizations now publish congressional ratings somewhat like baseball batting averages: the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), the Americans for Democratic Action [see *NR*, May 7, 1963], and the Americans for Constitutional Action. COPE doesn't even attempt to give comprehensive figures on voting records, confining its field to domestic questions affecting labor unions (and no doubt explaining the sole exception, its inclusion of the foreign aid vote, on the ground that 80 per cent of foreign aid funds are spent in the U.S.).

The ratings are actively used in elections, and all three organizations claim political influence for their tabulations. The immense resources of organized labor certainly make a low COPE rating a handicap in areas of heavy union influence. The conservative ACA endorsed 184 candidates in the 1962 elections largely on the basis of its ratings, and 74 per cent of these were elected. Many of the winners ran in politically safe districts, but many others credit ACA with real effectiveness in their victories. Admiral Ben Moreell, ACA's hard-driving chairman, believes the ratings are definitely affecting voting performances in Congress, since many congressmen anxious to present a conservative image try to burnish their ACA records. It cuts both ways, Admiral Moreell points out. Liberals seeking ADA and union support try to avoid good ACA scores.

Biggest Drawback

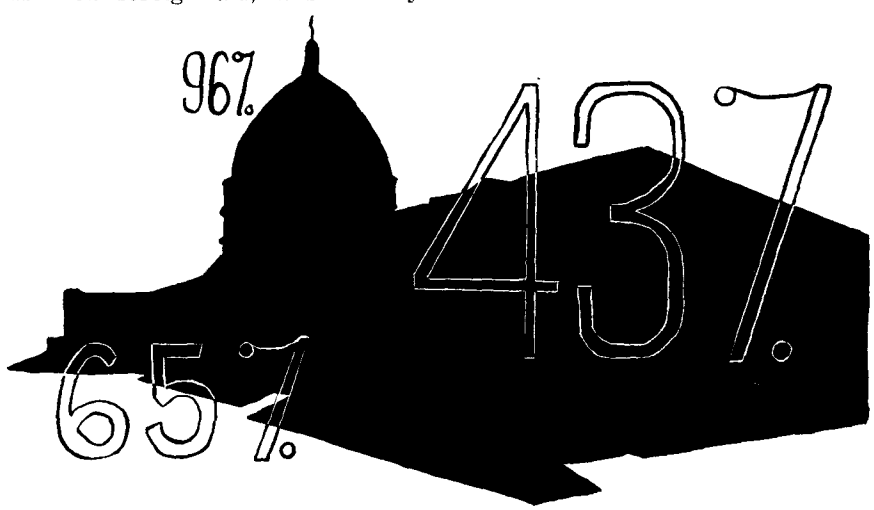
Does this mean that these ratings have an effect on the Congress? Yes and no. Their biggest drawback is that they deal with only one aspect of a congressman's work. Judging a congressman's value to the country purely on the basis of his roll-call votes has the same limitation as judging a woman's beauty solely by her "vital statistics."

For example, Rep. Otto Passman (D., La.) did not receive the endorsement of the ACA because he "scored" only 67 in the last Congress for a running average of 49. But Mr. Passman, as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations that passes on foreign aid, was directly responsible for a cut of $826 million in foreign aid last year alone! One extra vote for a few Liberal bills that would have passed anyway should scarcely persuade conservatives to seek to retire Mr. Passman from this important chairmanship.

Senator Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.), having scored 55 on the ADA tally, would seem to be only moderately pleasing to Liberal tablet-keepers. But Senator Hayden, as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, is noted for his complaisance in free spending. Had he been defeated last year, the chairmanship would have gone to the conservative Richard Russell (D., Ga.), a consummation that would have given Liberals more coronary occlusions than a year's production of butterfat.

Senator Kenneth Keating rates only 36 with ACA, but he deserves widespread support for his part in leading the congressional attack against Administration policies toward Cuba. His regular confutation of the news managers serves the nation in a way that eludes statistical analysis.

Similarly, Senator Thomas Dodd (D., Conn.) scored only 23 on the ACA scale, but almost every conservative will agree with M. Stanton Evans that he is "the most effective



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anti-Communist in the Senate." He led the protest against the sacrifice of Katanga to UN interventionists and has demonstrated his political courage while serving on the Internal Security Subcommittee. How can you "rate" a man's work in committee?

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell scored 100 ADA and zero ACA, which would theoretically make him a hero to Liberaldom. But the roll-call statistics ignore those qualities in Mr. Powell which this year led his congressional colleagues, Liberal and conservative, to deliver him the worst repudiation short of a vote of censure: they cut his committee appropriation in half.

Communism Not Considered

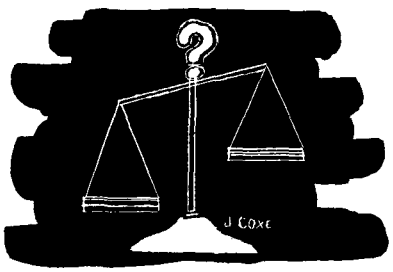
Granted, then, that ratings cannot be the sole criteria for assessing a congressman's whole performance, are they even what they purport to be—accurate portrayals of Liberal or conservative tendencies of congressmen in voting? The ADA rating raises instant doubts about its comprehensiveness, because the 1,700-word preface to the rating, which discusses the "great issues" facing the last Congress, refers to such "challenges" as the Common Market, automation, urban sprawl, and "the growing needs of the very young and very old," but *does not even mention Communism.*

If the ratings are statistically accurate, then the ACA and ADA ratings together should total close to 100 for each congressman, since the ratings are complementary. Thus Rep. Dante Fascell (D., Fla.) has a 63 ADA and a 39 ACA; Rep. Leslie Arends (R., Ill.) scores 13 ADA and 89 ACA; Senator Joseph Clark (D., Pa.) and Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.) both score 100 ADA and zero ACA.

But such corroboration is uncommon. Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen (R., N.J.) achieves a fat 63 with ADA but also 64 with ACA; Senator J. W. Fulbright (D., Ark.), a pariah to ADA (17), is no friend of ACA's either (31); Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R., Me.) draws a scornful 16 rating from ADA, but no more than a grudging 45 from ACA; and Rep. Robert Barry (R., N.Y.) charms all of the raters most of the time, as ADA rewards his services to Liberalism with a 63 and ACA claims him for its own with a 70.

Now how does all this come about? How can a batter lead the league in total hits and still have a miserable batting average?

ADA graded the Congress on twenty votes—twelve in the Senate and eight in the House. ACA chose 29 votes in the Senate and 23 in the House, grouping the votes under various classifications like "sound money," "private ownership," and "local self-government." Rarely did ADA and ACA choose the same roll-calls. Medicare made it to both ratings, but ACA left the vote on UN bonds out of its House tabulation. This was one of the most important pieces of foreign affairs legislation to pass in the last Congress, because it virtually sealed Katanga's doom. ACA did include the vote in its Senate tally, but characterized it as an issue of legislative *vs.* executive power. (ACA felt that Congress should have set the interest rate and terms of the bonds.) ACA for some reason decided to exclude the UN bond vote from its category entitled "national



sovereignty," where it records votes involving Communism and foreign affairs.

Another puzzler in the ACA system is the inclusion of a vote on an amendment that would have denied $2.5 million in subsidies to lead and zinc producers. A vote for the amendment was listed by ACA as being "*for* private, competitive market and *against* government interference; *for* sound money and *against* inflation." Granted there's not much of a case for base metal subsidies, the annual amount of this handout would cover only two hours' interest on the national debt—hardly a sum to qualify as one of the key votes of the 87th Congress. This item has been on ACA tallies every year since the rating's inception; Senator Goldwater lost his 100 rating by voting in favor of the subsidy in 1955. Astonished to find he had a lower ACA rating than Senator John Williams (R., Del.), Mr. Goldwater asked how it happened. When Admiral Moreell told him of his deviation from the Right, he immediately repented; and ever since he's racked up a perfect score.

ACA argues on this point that a principle is involved—federal subsidies to private industry—and that the amount of the subsidy is irrelevant. But it counts all roll-calls equally in the rating, so that a senator who votes in favor of socialized medicine and against the mineral subsidy will break even. ACA's argument from principle seems unduly censorious when applied to the rough-and-tumble of national politics. There's a difference, after all, between the President telling a fib about his wife's age and telling a fib about the Russian military buildup in Cuba. The Liberals have the same problem with the ADA rating: a congressman could vote in favor of a small public power project and against the UN bonds and break even.

Baseball averages distinguish between a sacrifice fly that drives in a run, and a clean base hit. The slugging percentage was devised to reward the long-ball hitter as compared with the Harvey Kuenn variety of singles hitter. Why not apply this formula to congressional ratings? The congressional averages are based on subjective criteria anyway (not all votes are recorded—only those the rater thinks particularly important), so it should make them no less scientific to weigh subjectively the relative importance of the issues recorded.

One Man's Tally

I did just that as an experiment, using fourteen Senate roll-call votes from the last Congress that showed a clear division between Liberals and conservatives. Each of these votes had been used by ADA or ACA or both. I weighted the votes according to the principle at stake and the operative effect of the legislation. The chart shows how it was done. I chose federal medicare, the UN bonds, and federal aid to education as the three most important votes. Together these three issues accounted for 48 per cent of the weighted total. Absenteeism was not punished: I rated the senators only on the votes they actually cast; where a senator was paired on

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Roll-Call Votes Chosen For Rating

(Figures in parentheses show the number of points allotted to the votes in the overall rating.)

1. The late Senator Kerr moved to table the medicare bill; passed 52-48, July 17, 1962. (19)

2. Final passage of the vote authorizing purchase of up to $100 million in UN bonds; passed 70-22, April 5, 1962. (18)

3. Final passage of the bill authorizing $2.7 billion in aid to higher education; passed 69-17, February 6, 1962. (11)

4. An amendment introduced by the late Senator Bridges would have barred foreign aid to any countries that export arms or strategic materials to any Communist-dominated country; defeated 45-43, August 18, 1961. (6)

5. Final passage of a bill granting the President discretionary authority to send foreign aid to any Communist-dominated country; passed 43-36, May 11, 1961. (6)

6. Final passage of bill increasing minimum wage to $1.25 per hour and extending coverage to millions of previously exempt workers; passed 65-28, April 20, 1961. (5)

7. Final passage of the bill authorizing $1.5 billion for "emergency" public works spending "to combat unemployment"; passed 44-32, May 28, 1962. (5)

8. The President sought to create a Department of Urban Affairs by his authority under the Executive Reorganization Plan, a procedure under which the change goes into effect unless disapproved by one House of Congress. The Senate Government Operations Committee was considering a motion of disapproval. To circumvent it, Liberals moved on the Senate floor to discharge the Committee, thereby bringing the issue to the whole Senate. In effect, a vote to discharge the Committee was a vote in favor of a federal Urban Affairs Department; defeated 58-42, Feb. 20, 1962. (5)

9. A vote of cloture was moved on a filibuster by Southern conservatives on an Administration bill outlawing state literacy tests, thereby making the Federal Government the sole prescriber of state voting standards; defeated 53-43, May 9, 1962. (5)

10. An amendment introduced by Senator Byrd (D., Va.) to the foreign aid bill would have prevented back-door financing of the Development Loan Fund; defeated 56-39, August 11, 1961. (5)

11. Final passage of the foreign aid bill of 1962 authorizing $4.6 billion in aid; passed 56-27, July 20, 1962. (5)

12. Hickenlooper amendment to remove from the Atomic Energy Commission Authorization Bill $95 million for construction of new public power facilities; rejected 54-36, July 18, 1961. (4)

13. After the Cunningham amendment passed the House, Senator Clark (D., Pa.) moved to try to make the interception of Communist propaganda discretionary with the President; his amendment to the Post Office bill was defeated 48-33, Sept. 27, 1963. (3)

14. Housing Act of 1961 provided for more than $9 billion in new loans and grants. The vote on final passage of the bill was thus a test of further federal intervention into the housing market; passed 64-25, June 12, 1961. (3)

a vote, I counted him absent. The voting records of seventy senators were used for the test, and the results were then compared with the ACA scores and the inverse ADA rating.

My average for the seventy senators was 36.17, surprisingly close to ACA's average of 36.58 for the same seventy. I was within five percentage points of the ACA figure in 36 instances. However, I found little correlation between my results and the ADA totals. The inverse ADA average for the same seventy was a lofty 50.44. In only 21 cases was I within five of the ADA figure. The analysis showed that ADA's rating included several issues where only the extreme left of the Senate voted the "right" way. So the miserable ADA scores of such senators as J. W. Fulbright, John Sparkman (D., Ala.) and Leverett Saltonstall (R., Mass.) should not lead voters to assume that these men merit conservative support. All that is established is the negative point that they are *not* left-wing extremists.

Since my overall average was so close to the ACA's, the differences were particularly interesting. Republicans generally came out lower and Democrats somewhat higher than with ACA. My average for 22 Republican senators was 52.31, a long way from ACA's 62.73 average for the same legislators. The 48 Democrats turned up with 28.77, compared with ACA's 24.39.

To illustrate (ACA scores in parentheses): *Republicans:* Leverett Saltonstall 41 (62), Everett Dirksen 52 (77), Jacob Javits zero (17), Winston Prouty 41 (60), Bourke Hickenlooper 69 (83); *Democrats:* John McClellan 100 (88), Herman Talmadge 96 (60), James Eastland 96 (80).

ACA's higher scores for Republicans were not due to any favoritism on its part, since ACA chooses roll-call votes in a manner that precludes partisan politics. In each case listed, the senator voted in favor of the UN bonds and against the $2.45 million base metal subsidy. On ACA's tally the two votes canceled each other out. In my tabulation I omitted the minerals vote entirely and gave heavy weight to the vote on UN bonds.

The advantages of weighting are illustrated in the case of Senator Hickenlooper, who scored 83 on the ACA scale despite voting in favor of

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allowing aid to Communist-dominated countries, purchasing the UN bonds, and giving federal aid to education. Senator Saltonstall scored 62 ACA despite voting for a federal minimum wage, the full foreign aid bill, the UN bonds, and federal aid to education.

Although it did not happen, it is theoretically possible for a senator to have voted for medicare, UN bonds, aid to Communist-dominated countries, federal aid to education, and aid to nations exporting strategic materials to Communist countries, and still have an 83 rating, a score entitling him to automatic ACA endorsement in an election. Similarly, it is possible for a senator to have voted against UN bonds, emergency public works, and medicare and still get a 63 ADA rating.

The experiment shows that the ACA ratings are by far the best available to the general public, as their comprehensiveness and selection are both superior to the ADA rating. However, both ratings suffer from the failure to weight the issues so as to give full value to the truly crucial votes.

The argument ACA uses against weighting is that it would place too much power for favoritism in the hands of the rater. But if a rater does not wish to act in good faith, he can achieve the same results by leaving certain votes out of his tallies, or by including others of less importance where the congressmen he wishes to favor voted the "right" way. Since the ratings are not based on purely objective data, anyway, their value as statistics will only be enhanced if they distinguish between the important and unimportant roll-call votes. Then they would serve as a more faithful record of congressional inclinations.

A Lot Will Depend on Boodles

The Profumo Affair

COLM BROGAN

London

The Profumo Affair could not have come at a worse time for the government or at a better time for the press. The Argyll divorce case had just ended when the first of the Profumo bombshells came, setting off a series of detonations which are likely to keep on for a long time, particularly since the scandal involves boy-girl after a recent string of boy-boys —"a step in the right direction," someone said.

The cause of the first explosion could hardly have been predicted. An unknown Negro from the underworld was charged with firing a gun for the purpose of inflicting bodily harm to a mistress who had discarded him. The case would have been worth no more than a half-column in the sensational press if it had not been for one thing. The faithless mistress was not present in court. Her name was Miss Christine Keeler (hereinafter to be called Keeler). Keeler had broken her recognizance and taken herself off to Spain. Why did she fly and who helped her? The hunt was up and the bloodhounds hard on the scent. (Profumo is the Italian word for scent.)

In fact, Fleet Street had been buzzing for weeks with stories of Profumo's relations with Keeler. Profumo has strongly denied that he had any hand in slipping Keeler out of the country and it may very well be so. On the other hand, the word of John Profumo has precisely the same value as a torn Confederate dollar. Somebody smuggled Keeler out of the way.

Enter (and exit) Ivanov. This gentleman, hastily sent home, was a Russian spy. The amount of money he had to spend is conclusive proof of that. We now know that Keeler was sharing her favors between a spy and the Minister for War, and yet there are still people who ask if there was any security risk involved. It is not necessary to credit Profumo with the faintest treacherous intention or to credit Keeler with more than a spoonful of brains to know that any Army officer under Profumo's political control would have been instantly dismissed with ignominy if he had placed himself in the same trap.

Ivanov was not only a spy. He was also a credulous ass, unshakably convinced that Britain was run by the aristocracy. He could not be persuaded that the Earl of Arran was not able to secure a place in the Honors List for anyone he cared to name. It was the Earl of Arran he chose as intermediary in his comic opera attempt to arrange a Summit meeting in London. Before he broke out as a newspaper columnist, the belted Earl was known to his friends as Boofy. His column was such a well-judged mixture of exhibitionism, impertinence and pure silliness that it was an immediate success, but his more judicious friends thought that he had better be called Goofy. This was the man that Ivanov proposed as *amicus curiae* between Khrushchev and Kennedy.

After Ivanov, Mr. Stephen Ward stepped, or was pushed, into the limelight. A friend of mine who met him at a cocktail party some years ago told me that he was the only interesting person in a large company, but he did not think that Ward was a man he would trust even half as far as he could see him. Ward does appear to have some of the versatility of a Renaissance nobleman. He has been quaintly described as "osteopath to Society." He is sufficiently skillful at making a likeness to produce portraits of many members of the Royal Family and of the Prime Minister himself. He played his part as the *éminence grise* to the infinitely preposterous Earl of Arran. At the moment of writing he is in the cooler, waiting to answer a charge of living on the immoral earnings of women, with further charges of a more serious nature to come. His osteopathic establishment appears to have had a close resemblance to the finishing school for young girls which Louis XV discreetly conducted on the grounds of Versailles.

By the time of Ward's arrest the whole affair had become like a Royal Command variety show where star performers kept breaking into each other's acts. For a brief day "Lucky" Gordon stole the show. He was charged with beating up Keeler. (The victim, who had claimed that she was just as totally ruined as Profumo himself, arrived at court in a

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chauffeur-driven Rolls accompanied by her "business manager.") Before "Lucky" was sentenced to three years his record of previous convictions was read out. It was as long as Lord Astor's private swimming pool.

It was in or around that pool that Keeler first saw the shy dawn of love in Profumo's eyes. From that everything else followed, including the happy moment when security men keeping a sharp eye on Ivanov found themselves in a dark alley keeping a sharp eye on other security men who were keeping a sharp eye on Profumo. Cocteau, Genet, Beckett and Groucho Marx among them could not have produced such a scenario.

How have the British people reacted to the Affair? I have taken my own One-Man Public Opinion Survey, and while the sample is necessarily small, it covers the sophisticated and the unsophisticated, the politically committed and the politically neutral. The agreement of opinion is so remarkable that I think I had best put it down in tabular form.

One. Profumo. The attitude towards this man is pitiless. It is not his adultery but his effrontery that makes the ordinary man say that the worst that could happen to him would not be bad enough. We now know that the night before he committed what amounted to political perjury in the Commons he was closely questioned by three ministers, Iain Macleod being one of them. They had a highly incriminating letter from Profumo to Keeler in their hands, and it must have taken a great deal of brazen assurance to convince them that nothing of what is primly called "impropriety" had taken place. It cannot be doubted that he was believed.

Mayfair and the Queen Mum

By his own forced admission he lied to his family, his lawyers and the Commons. His statement to the Commons was pugnacious to a degree. Like wrathful Jove he wielded the thunderbolt of libel. Next day he accompanied the Queen Mother to the Sandown race meeting and shortly afterwards went to his own constituency where he was photographed thumping a pub piano and singing *Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes* while he gazed soulfully into the eyes of the wife he had doubly betrayed. If Keeler is to be believed, he actually took her to his own house and allowed her to inspect the connubial bedroom.

Two. The simple fact of adultery was the least of his offenses in the public eye. Much greater was his dirty fighting to save his own skin. He forced one Italian paper to apologize and pay fifty pounds token damages, plus costs. He loftily handed the fifty pounds over to a soldiers' charity. If anybody had been prepared to defend a libel suit in court,

it must be presumed that he was prepared to pervert the course of justice by means of perjury.

The second offense was one of monstrous bad taste. As one of the sophisticated said to me: "They kept this kind of thing dark in the nineteenth century. Why the hell can't they keep it dark now?" The reason is to be found in a decline of social as well as of moral standards. If Keeler had been the mistress of an Eminent Victorian she would have been tucked away in a little house in Maida Vale and would never have set eyes on the betrayed wife, who would not have dreamt of employing her as a parlormaid. Further, she would have known that she would be instantly cast aside if she as much as looked at another man.

Three. I am bound to say in honesty that I have found no sympathy for the Royal Family. It is accepted that Profumo made insolent use of his acquaintance with the Queen Mother, but one of the unsophisticated crudely put the general attitude in these words: "If the Royal Family didn't know what Profumo and Ward were like, they bloody well should have." Queen Victoria would have known.

Until nearly the last minute it was assumed that Profumo would have an audience with the Queen to return his seals of office. It was only Profumo's own initiative in begging to be excused that saved the Queen from this embarrassment. But the man in the street has asked why the Queen did not save herself. After all, the Queen is mistress of her own household. She is believed to be rather exacting in her demand for proper deference to her position from those who serve her in Court. If the Queen had said flatly, "No, I will not receive this man," she would have had all the nation behind her.

Four. There is much anger at many politicians and many newspapers. The theory that the private behavior of a public man in high office is irrelevant to his fitness for office has been plugged both by press and politicians, but the people simply won't buy it. They believe that a man who is a Privy Councillor and who is called "Right Honorable" should behave honorably. They don't expect him to be a saint or an ascetic, but they demand that he should not behave in a way that would get him ostracized in a suburban tennis club.

Iain Macleod thinks otherwise. I thought that Macleod would be the last man to forgive anyone who had made a fool of him in public. Yet he has proclaimed his continued friendship with Profumo. John Hare is a minister whose car Profumo borrowed to tote Keeler round places of interest. He, too, has proclaimed his affection for "Jack."

Harold Wilson made a great mistake when he thought that he would win credit by his sanctimonious refusal to confuse private morals with public business. To the people, Wilson is just another politician willing to cover up for his own kind. A Frenchman said that there was more in common between two deputies, one of whom was a Communist and the other a Royalist, than there was between two Communists or two Royalists, one of whom was a deputy and the other not. That is how the people regard Wilson's attitude. By my personal count, four politicians have come out of this affair with credit. The first is George Wigg, the Labor M.P. who

(Continued on p. 543)

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The Third World War

The Situation Remains Fluid

JAMES BURNHAM

I noted in these columns last winter [NR, Feb. 26] that "the world equilibrium . . . has been thrown into critical instability." Two developments of the last month, one of them a surprise to all observers and quite possibly to the participants, take a prominent place among what I then listed as "incidents [that] may be understood as attempts to break out of the bipolar power structure within which world politics has revolved since early in the 1950s."

Burnham

The performance of the thirty African heads of state at Addis Ababa was not impressive in terms of net results. Kwame Nkrumah's grandiose plan for a United States of Africa fell with an echo-less thud on the floor of Haile Selassie's scrumptious new auditorium. Below the talk of unity everyone could feel the real divisions among the jealous potentates. It was hard to rouse enthusiasm except over routine anti-colonial slogans and the summons to a crusade against the infidels to the south

But for all the meagerness of the concrete achievements and the absurdity of the posturing, the nations of Africa did hold their own meeting in their own way, did manage to express some sort of distinct will of their own, and did agree on an embryonic African political organism. The most striking feature of the meeting was negative: neither of the two superstates played a decisive or even major role. Unofficially, of course, both were present in the persons of dozens of diplomats and hundreds of agents. But insofar as they affected the proceedings at all, they pretty well cancelled each other out. The Addis Ababa meeting just did not fit into the classic Cold War grooves.

The Addis Ababa meeting had been scheduled long ago, and except for that negative fact there was nothing unexpected in its outcome. But no one, even three months ago, guessed that Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines would be getting cosily together in June: indeed, the universal guess was just the contrary —that they might be shooting each other before the summer was over. The Federation of Malaya and the Republic of the Philippines have been notably anti-Communist—both having had to smash internal Communist subversion by long, bloody civil war; Indonesia has the largest Communist Party outside the Curtains, and has got most of her armament from the Soviet Union. Indonesia, with her campaign against New Guinea, began what has seemed to be an imperialist expansion the natural goal of which would be control of the entire South Seas island chain, the Philippines and the territories slated to join with Malaya included. Malaya is in the process of setting up a federation that will incorporate the northern parts of Borneo (Brunei, Sarawak, North Borneo); Indonesia has been supporting revolutionary opposition to the Malaysian Federation—and both Russia and China have upheld her.

South Seas Surprise

Suddenly, Malaya's Tungku Abdul Rahman and Filipino President Diosdado Macapagal joined Indonesia's Bung Karno for an informal chat in Tokyo. Next, the foreign ministers met in Manila and quickly agreed, or said they agreed, to establish a permanent organization "for a joint approach to regional security and other common problems." The three heads of state have promised to meet soon again, and more formally, in Manila. And President Macapagal has stated his hope that the present accords will be merely "the first step toward realizing . . . a Malay confederation embracing 140 million people."

Is this more than a new South Seas bubble? The test will come soon: if it is serious, Sukarno will call off his operations against north Borneo and will cease political opposition to the Malaysian Federation. It seems astonishing that Sukarno would execute so sharp a reversal. But there are three powerful inducements: the fear of China he shares with Tungku and Macapagal—both of the southward advance of the main Chinese glacier and the internal thrust of the resident Chinese communities; the belief that in a Malay grouping, Indonesia, with two-thirds of the population, would end up dominant; the economic pressure brought to bear by Washington in connection with the new contracts between Indonesia and the American and British oil companies.

Plus or Minus?

The two million Indonesian Communists have not yet given a clear sign of their attitude. They have been carefully neutral in the Sino-Russian dispute. Is it conceivable that they might see a brighter future in an autonomous South Seas empire than in joining a Communist bloc run by *either* Moscow or Peiping?

The Afro-Asian leaders talk a lot more grandly than they act. This Greater Malaysia project may turn out to be nothing but bombast. If it amounts to anything much, it is probably to the relative advantage of the West, at least for the shorter run. It would guarantee the formation of the Malay Federation in the near future; and would put the anti-Communist Philippines, still close to America, and anti-Communist Malaya, still close to Britain, in a position to temper Sukarno's anti-Western excesses.

More generally, the West could adapt to a *genuinely* multipolar world polity more readily than could the Communists, whose ideology and system both require monolithism. But the new nations will find that their own forms of independence cannot be real or lasting so long as the Communist enterprise remains. "The Communists will not rest," as Jules Monnerot has put it, "until they are alone in the world." Today *all* roads to freedom lie through Communism's defeat.

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Letter from the Continent

After John XXIII?

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

The Conclave of Cardinals, now assembled in Rome, is expected to be one of the longest and toughest of the century. At this writing it is already being compared with the Conclave which elected Pius X—after the intervention of the Austrian Emperor who, as legal successor to the Holy Roman Emperor, exercised his veto (for the final time) to prevent the election of Cardinal Rampolla to the Chair of St. Peter.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

The first session of the Vatican Council clearly demonstrated that there is a sharp division among the bishops and cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church along progressive-conservative lines, although this division is primarily ecclesiastical, and not political. This presents one difficulty to easy agreement on the next pope. A second problem facing the Conclave is the problem of the "Italian succession." Should a Church that calls itself Catholic go on forever having a disproportionate number of Italian cardinals and regularly electing an Italian pope? This is not to say that the Italian regime has been detrimental to the Church. Indeed, in the more than four hundred years since the reign of the last non-Italian pope, the Church has remained fairly elastic.

A Compromise Pope?

Whatever the general impressions, Italians are not sticklers and, *basically*, they are not conservative.

Given these problems and the fact that a two-thirds majority is necessary for a papal election—and neither the conservatives nor the progressives seem in a position to muster such a majority—a compromise along the 1958 lines is more than probable.

Who are the *papabili?* Assuming that we will have another Italian pope, which is—if history is to be our guide—more than likely, the man most prominently mentioned is Cardinal Montini, Archbishop of Milan. He is relatively young, intelligent, very photogenic (by no means a requirement, but it never hurts), a man with experience in the Secretariat of State, and one, moreover, who "fell out" with Pope Pius XII. He is very popular in Milan, even with the working class (which in that diocese is Socialist rather than Communist). And he has in recent years been very careful in playing down his concrete position on political, ecclesiastical or theological matters. Cardinal Siri of Genoa, one of the youngest men in the College of Cardinals, is another candidate although he is an outspoken conservative in ecclesiastical matters.

What about the non-Italians? What chances have they? First, there is Cardinal Agagianian, an Armenian by birth, a man of great linguistic accomplishments, a former Patriarch of the Armenian Rite—and this shouldn't be discounted—and a Roman by adoption. Theologically, he is a conservative, but he might be acceptable to the progressives who think that a "non-Latin Rite " Catholic might lead to an *apertura* toward the Orthodox Church. Would he really fulfill the yearning of so many Catholics by introducing Communion under both forms (both Bread and Wine) for the laity, a demand so deeply felt that many Eastern Rite churches in Paris are overcrowded with 95 per cent of the congregation made up of members of the Latin Rite? Or would he relax on matters of celibacy for the priesthood since many priests of his Rite are married? On the other hand, it is possible that if elected, Cardinal Agagianian might lean over backward and show exaggerated respect for the "Latin" traditions. (Just like, *mutatis mutandis*, a Catholic President of the United States!) Cardinal Agagianian is an extremely careful man who seems to weigh every word before he speaks it. Even those who know him well say they know his mind very little. That he is an extremely bright ecclesiastical leader is undeniable and it is an historic fact that when Pius X saw Agagianian at the Little Sem (Seminary) at the age of twelve or thirteen he declared that he "would go far in the Church." In sum, Cardinal Agagianian might be an ideal choice for the painful transition from an Italian to a non-Italian pope.

The Papabili

What other *papabili* do we see among the non-Italian cardinals? As a starter it is generally agreed that the cardinals from the larger nations will not be chosen, for obvious political reasons. But among the possibilities from the smaller nations there is Cardinal Alfrink of the Netherlands, a brilliant leader and a progressive, as is Cardinal Suenens of Belgium, another leading contender. There is Vienna's Cardinal Koenig, a great scholar whose *magnum opus,* significantly enough, deals with the religions of the world and who has acted, in recent weeks, as the Vatican's emissary behind the Iron Curtain. Frequently mentioned is Cardinal Léger of Montreal. He was known as a rigorist in theological matters during his long stay in Rome, but he became somewhat less rigid after his appointment as Archbishop of Montreal. Apart from his personal accomplishments, Cardinal Léger could serve as a link between the English-speaking nations and the Latin world, between North America and Europe. The North Americans might well vote for him, and perhaps even the Latin Americans, out of a feeling of Hemispheric solidarity.

Among the less likely candidates are Cardinal Ottaviani, who has a hard core of supporters, but an equally hard core of opponents, and Cardinal Bea, who can almost be written off because he is a Jesuit and in Europe the thought of a Jesuit as pope is, well, unthinkable.

Whatever the outcome of the Conclave, in the heart of all Catholics there is but one prayer: that the new pope will prove a worthy successor to the late, and universally beloved, John XXIII.

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Economist in the Grand Tradition

LOUIS M. HACKER

Economists who have operated in the grand tradition—Adam Smith and Alfred Marshall, of course; and today, Robbins, Mises, Hayek, Knight—have not hesitated to speak out loud and clear about the greediness of private men and the stupidity of public policy-makers. Economics once was called political economy and was properly a division of statecraft: it was austere, detached; it commanded attention and respect. Except for a handful of persons today—and they live in outer darkness, rarely studied in the schools and, when mentioned at all, contemptuously disposed of in footnotes—its practitioners are lighthearted and irresponsible, making up all kinds of dangerous brews which, too frequently, the heads of states are willing to prescribe. In consequence, we get sicker and sicker as we swallow these drafts—of deficit financing, inflation, industry-wide bargaining, subsidies and stockpiling.

Wilhelm Roepke, too, along with the few I have mentioned, has resisted the blandishments of "the new economics"; and he has paid the usual price—voluntary flight from his own country, unknown in the English-speaking world, a small, still voice. Not quite: in Germany, after all these years of exile, for the time being he is an honored man.

Roepke, born in Germany and trained there, was a university teacher and a public official when Hitler's ascent to power forced him to flee. He found asylum in Turkey where he headed that government's Institute of Economic Studies in Istanbul; he then took up residence in Switzerland, became a Swiss citizen, and joined the faculty of the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. He had been a friend of Ludwig Erhard, and when the Bonn government—after its initial false starts—called upon that remarkable man to head its Economics Ministry, Roepke had his innings. Germany's revival is as much Roepke's work as that of any other man; and Erhard has been the first to admit it, for he has said, "Wilhelm Roepke stands as a great witness to the truth. My own services toward the attainment of a free society are scarcely enough to express my gratitude to him who, to such a high degree, influenced my position and conduct."

Economics of the Free Society, by Wilhelm Roepke. Regnery, $4.95

The lessons Erhard learned that have guided Germany—of stable and workable currencies, fiscal integrity, a larger scope for saving and investment, a spectacular widening of international economic relations in freer markets without the benefit of cartels, in fact through keen competitive practices—have been the burden of Roepke's teachings and are here distilled in this brief, calmly written, outstanding book. In one sense, it is an introduction to the economics of a free society and can be read by the intelligent layman without benefit of mathematics or need for a dictionary to the private vocabulary that has become part of the modern mystery or alchemy. In a larger sense, it lays out clearly the straight road to a public policy where we can continue to be free in our private choices, our rights protected by law and our lives and conduct honorable and moral.

This book was first published in 1937; Roepke has added to and subtracted from it; and he has now made it wholly contemporaneous, so that it is as much a *vade mecum* to sound thinking and action today as it was 25 years ago, when none paid attention, and fifteen years ago, when Bonn began to read and ponder its lessons. It has been translated with great care and skill by an American professor, Patrick M. Boarman of Bucknell University, who first heard Roepke in Geneva in 1946; this is, as he says, his tribute to "a great teacher and a great economist."

Roepke has the gift of succinctness. In a few brief strokes he is able to expose the essential weaknesses of collectivism ("that instead of showing the way to a solution of monopoly it leads us into an ineluctable and all-embracing state supermonopoly which is worse than private monopoly"); of the fetishism of growth (the statistics "relate merely to purely physical productivity. But this is of no help in answering the question of whether the problem of economic order has been satisfactorily solved: . . . whether the various branches of production are properly coordinated . . . or whether, on the contrary, there are not continuous wastes and mistakes with the result that physical increases in output are converted into a general improvement in living standards only at great cost and after long delay"); of the frivolity of Keynes ("At bottom, his economic policy program consisted in saying: *pecca fortiter*; that is, do with a light heart what you have hitherto regarded as a sin!").

There is a striking contrast between Adam Smith and John Maynard Keynes: the one a moralist, the other bemused by a mathematical-mechanical universe; the one a representative man of the humanistic spirit of the eighteenth century; the other a representative of the geometric spirit of the twentieth century. "The teachings of the one [Smith] were a promising beginning; those of the other [Keynes] the end product of a process of disintegration in which the crisis of an exclusively rationalistic society finds its ultimate expression."

The reader, in consequence, is not surprised that Roepke does not end

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with devices and short cuts for making more goods and money but with the maintenance of a society where order, incentives, freedom and justice can thrive. . . . The heart of the matter is what he calls the "*moral-vital problem*"; it is linked with "*a road of moderation and proportion.*" (Italics his.)

Toward the end, Roepke says: "*It is incumbent upon us to make use of every available means to free our society from its intoxication with big numbers, from the cult of the colossal, from centralization, from hyper-organization and standardization, from the pseudo-ideal of the 'bigger and better,' from the worship of the mass man and from addiction to the gigantic. We must lead it back to a natural, human, spontaneous, balanced, and diversified existence.*"

This is the bitter-sweet talk of men of an earlier day, of Hume and Smith and even, before them, of Montaigne and Bacon. If our undergraduates will not be told to read Roepke, I hope their fathers will. There are excellent notes on further reading at the end of each chapter and (European-style) an index of persons and an index of subjects.

Fiction

Women and the Mirror of the World

GUY DAVENPORT

A THOROUGHLY disinterested observer might easily say that all novels are about the high enterprises of this world, complicated by adultery. Herodotus, regarding the rape of Helen, said, "Well, once it was done, they could have forgotten about it." But no poet, least of all Homer, and no novelist, far from forgetting, ever quits looking for the Helen in things. In the trust two people place in each other, however insignificant they may be in the drift of history, the novelist can test the holding strength of extensive fabrics. John O'Hara locates his Helen in a small Pennsylvania college, which, like Haverford (as his characters say), "has traditional connections with Harvard." David Rubin, a new novelist, studies womankind in modern India. And the late Isak Dinesen, the she-wizard of modern letters, has left us a final romance from that Gothic North she invented a half-century ago.

Mr. O'Hara's art is by now perfect. It has always been a master's style, tough, alert to detail, and so spare in its drawing that the famous restraint Hemingway agonized over for so long and so publicly ought in all fairness to be mounted prominently in the record as an achievement which Mr. O'Hara has accomplished with impressive labor and no fanfare at all. Where Hemingway offered us exotic and unusual examples of human endurance, Mr. O'Hara deals with the ordinary: living room, sidewalk, automobile.

Elizabeth Appleton—the novel is as unadorned as the title—is another of the long series of studies of integrity in people, especially women with a touch of heat in the blood, who blunder in pragmatic morals, sin with troubling guilt, but sin; and are pinched into the restraints and requisites of their upper-middle-class tribal sanctions helplessly but not blindly. The impact of the novel comes from the authenticity of its perfectly real scenes, living room after living room. Mr. O'Hara's ear misses nothing. His eye, however, is severely selective. One elm, one white porch, do for a house. A Phi Beta Kappa key against tweed, a professor; a fashionable hairdo, a heroine.

The plot here is simply the married life of a professor's wife, her one adultery, her grief and understanding when her husband is passed over for the college presidency. But to write that life, John O'Hara has imagined so real a story that we can only guess that he knows life in Pennsylvania as no one before, and is not likely to be surpassed. His compassion moves us with its honesty. His moral insight and patience in analyzing confused motives constitute a triumph of the novelist's art.

MR. DAVID RUBIN, a native of Connecticut and a teacher at Columbia, offers in *The Greater Darkness* a first novel of impressive technical proficiency. If his skill is unsustained, the initial brilliance of his writing, which begins to fail after the first fifty pages, still has the power to carry us through the remaining 266 pages. By trying to get as much of India as possible into his account, he creates more characters than have elbow room and more business than he can fit into his design. He is aware that he is writing in the shadow of E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India* (which his characters have all read) and avoids producing an up-dated sequel to that masterpiece. Mr. Rubin's India is last year's, a nation so new that it cannot understand, or demonstrate to visitors, its difference from imperial days, and so old that everyone wonders if it can change at all.

The entire novel is filled with spectators: the Anglo-Indian heroine was raised in England and is living in her native India for the first time. An American sociologist and his wife rapidly sink past confusing superficialities to the real contradictions of Indian life. Indians themselves, in various modes of what they take to be enlightenment (socialism, Communism, Victorian agnosticism), scrutinize their country as if they had just been waked from a narcotic stupor.

What Mr. Rubin shows us is the convincing, intimate lives of a complex of Indians (university people, fossil British who "stayed on," intellectuals, Brahmins, the casteless). With camera-richness he makes us see interiors, streets, mobs, council rooms. India becomes the real protagonist of the novel, and we realize this just as the plot deteriorates to the old-timey business of adultery. The

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Elizabeth Appleton, by John O'Hara. Random, $4.95

The Greater Darkness, by David Rubin. Farrar, $4.95

Ehrengard, by Isak Dinesen. Random, $3.95

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pairing off, however symbolic, of lovers seems an awkward device for a study as engrossing as this, a work of generous promise that has the control of a Malraux, as in *La Condition Humaine,* that presents diverse and unfamiliar cultures, that stands up in a comparison with Forster, that wears all the marks of superior fiction except the most difficult of all, the unification of every detail into a clear wholeness. There are scenes, however, which stay in the mind as if one had witnessed them.

ISAK DINESEN's *Ehrengard* is a novella in her Gothic style and a last exercise in the virtuosity she developed in that manner. In a mere hundred pages of large type on small pages she unfolds with incredible economy a story of ironic turns and surprises worthy of Boccaccio at his richest. A princess pregnant before her marriage, an artist whose reputation vies with that of Casanova, a miniature Venusberg—such are the charmingly antique trappings with which the story is made; yet there is no tarnish, no mustiness. Isak Dinesen, whose *Out of Africa* will remain a masterpiece of English prose (some of her books were written in English, some in Danish; German, French and Swahili came as easily to her tongue), was one of the last masters of the traditional romance. Except in two books, she wrote as if the last five hundred years had not been. In this last novella her curious, wholly satisfying art shows in perfect crystallization the skill of all her work.

Mountain Fortress

SIR ARNOLD LUNN

MR. JON KIMCHE's vivid account of the Swiss resistance to Nazi pressure during the Second World War is eminently readable. It is, as a Swiss remarked to me, something of an achievement to have made a near best-seller out of the defense of Swiss neutrality.

I was lecturing for the British Council in Italy when the Germans invaded Belgium, and I arrived in Switzerland on May 13, 1940. The Germans were massing troops along the Swiss frontier, and the Swiss Intelligence was convinced that an invasion was imminent. If the Germans had not broken through the extension of the Maginot line near Sedan on May 14, it is probable that Switzerland would have been invaded. On the nights of the 13th and 14th the roads from Basel and other frontier towns were crowded with the cars of civilians in full retreat from a feared invasion. I was encouraged next day to read the sturdy proclamation of General Guisan warning the population to ignore, in the event of an invasion, any statement announcing surrender which purported to come from a Swiss station. There would be no surrender.

After Italy declared war, Switzerland was surrounded by the Axis powers and entirely dependent on Germany for many vital supplies, such as coal. On the very day, June 25, when Marshall Pétain broadcast from Bordeaux his message of surrender, Pilet-Golaz, the Swiss President, went on the air with a message addressed to the Swiss nation which alarmed many of his more discerning compatriots. Pilet-Golaz' speech was responsible for the formation of the Movement of National Resistance, pledged to give full support to General Guisan even if he was resisting an attempt to surrender by the government. General Guisan, realizing that the time had come for a dramatic appeal to the country, summoned all commanders, down to battalion commanders, to meet on the historic meadow of Rütli, by the lake of Lucerne, where the founding fathers of the Swiss Confederation had met on August 1, 1291. The theme of the General's address was that the existence of Switzerland was at stake and that it was their duty to counteract the propaganda of defeatists and weaklings in their own ranks and to preach to their troops the duty of uncompromising resistance.

Spying for Peace, by Jon Kimche. Roy, $4.00

The overwhelming majority of the Swiss were ready to fight for the doctrine proclaimed by General Guisan on the Rütli. And in this majority Pilet-Golaz himself must be included. So long as Switzerland was not invaded he was ready to make great concessions to the Germans, but this only as an alternative to invasion. Once the Germans had crossed the Swiss frontier, there would have been no division between him and Guisan.

Mr. Kimche's account of these war years may be warmly recommended as entertaining bedside reading, but as a record of what Clough calls "the merest 'it was'" it leaves much to be desired. In the first place the author offers no evidence for many of his more sensational statements. More serious is the fact that the book contains so many errors.

If Mr. Kimche, who still holds a Swiss passport, had not left Switzerland at the age of twelve but had enjoyed the normal sound Swiss education, he could not possibly have written about the Swiss "Republic." Still less could he have penned the travesty of Swiss history on page 75, where we are informed that the Swiss "did nothing when the French armies entered Switzerland in 1798. They treated it as a natural catastrophe which, like an avalanche, had to be endured, and watched the struggle for the Alpine crossings between Napoleon and Suvoroff. Switzerland—neutral Switzerland—did not partake; it only provided the Alpine battlefield."

Far from being neutral, the Swiss fought a series of battles against the invading French. A monument near Sierre in the Rhone valley commemorates those who died in the Valais. The men of Schwyz, under Alois von Reding, the hero of one of Wordsworth's poems, put up a desperate resistance. Dorothy Wordsworth refers to the complaint of the French that while stationed in the country they could procure neither a mistress nor a spy. The little half-canton of Nidwalden continued to resist long after the rest of Switzerland was annexed;

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30,000 men, women and children fought with the courage of despair in the meadows round Stans. Switzerland was anything but neutral in 1798. It was not in 1798 but in 1799 that Suvoroff entered Switzerland, and by that time Switzerland had been annexed.

No informed Swiss could possibly believe that Pilet-Golaz, a man of considerable intelligence, could have been so silly as to tell "his government that he would like to have a good reason to break off diplomatic relations with Great Britain." Such a violent breach with the traditional Swiss doctrine of neutrality would have required something almost equivalent to a constitutional amendment. It would have required the approval not only of the Bundesrat (Cabinet), but also of the Bundesversammlung (meeting of both houses of Parliament) to break off relations with Great Britain, and of that there was never the remotest possibility.

Difficult to understand is his statement that Guisan "could speak virtually no German." When I interviewed Guisan for the *Times* we spoke in German, which I speak better than French and which Guisan spoke almost as well as his native language.

THIS book had a mixed reception in Switzerland. An effective defense of Pilet-Golaz by Léon Savary appeared in *La Tribune de Genéve* (December 17, 1961). Two days later the same paper published an article in which Colonel Roger Masson, the wartime head of the Swiss Intelligence, pointed out many inaccuracies in Mr. Kimche's book, and finally *Der Bund*, in the issue of January 3, 1963, devoted a very long article to a severe criticism of the book's inaccuracies. "We must," writes *Der Bund*, "earnestly warn readers against this book, even if it turns out, as now seems likely, to be good business."

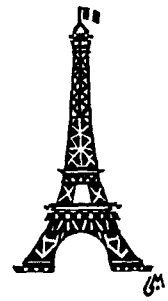
I criticize this book with regret, for the author has rendered a real service to a country I love by reminding the world of the magnificent spiritual resistance of the Swiss during the long years when they were entirely surrounded by the Axis, and I am grateful to him, not only for filling in my own picture of Switzerland during these years but also for recalling the noble tribute paid to the Swiss by Sir Winston Churchill in a memorandum addressed to the Foreign Secretary and dated December 3, 1944:

"I put this down for the record. Of all the neutrals Switzerland had the greatest right to distinction. She has been the sole international force linking the hideously sundered nations and ourselves. What does it matter whether she has been able to give us the commercial advantages which we desired or has given too many to the Germans to keep herself alive? She has been a democratic state, standing for freedom in self-defense among her mountains, and in thought, in spite of race, largely on our side."

Theater

Grand Duchess Tatiana and Co.

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY



THE TRICK, of course, when you take a dated comedy and stage it thirty years later, is to give the audience a feeling of nostalgia, and not of the pip. Will those bobs of the twenties evoke friendly or derisory laughter? And the shimmy era dresses? and the handsome dove-grey spats? If the producer can make the nostalgia stick, he has that fearsome beast, The Broadway Audience, halfway conquered, and more than halfway prepared to go his way.

In *Tovarich*, the musical remake of the Claudette Colbert-Charles Boyer movie of the mid-thirties, Director Peter Glenville has turned the trick. The Grand Duchess Tatiana (Vivien Leigh), late of Czarist Russia, and her husband Prince Mikail Ouratieff (Jean-Pierre Aumont) are living in a Paris garret nourished only by what the Grand Duchess manages to steal from open-air markets, although they could at any time write a check for four billion francs (old, old). But the money is a sacred trust from the late Czar-God-rest-his-soul (whenever he is mentioned every Russian in the room leaps to his feet and crosses himself) and will be returned intact to the next Czar. The plot revolves around the attempts of Commissar Gorovchenko to get hold of the money when he finally tracks down the penniless billionaires at the home of an American industrialist from Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where they have taken refuge, he as "an elegant butler," she as "an elegant maid."

The key to the evening is its lightheartedness. The dastardly plots of the Communists have no more chance of success than the ditto ditto of the black-cloaked and mustachioed villain of a Gay Nineties melodrammer. And this of course is the charm. Soviet Russia in the twenties was an obstreperous international nuisance, and everyone wished it would go away, but it was not a world menace. We're invited to look in on a simpler, happier, less stultifyingly earnest world in which discrimination means only that you have contempt for the oily director of the Bank of France, but affection for the grotesquely *nouveaux riches*, but simple and kindly, George Davises of Wilkes-Barre.

If you're looking for a message, stay clear of *Tovarich*. Like a *petit vin pétillant* of Anjou, *Tovarich* is light and bubbly, but hasn't much body; it should be approached in that spirit. Lee Pockriss, who wrote the music, has managed to combine the lilt and rhythm of the traditional East European folk dances, the czardas, mazurkas and polonaises, with the Charlestons and soft shoe routines of the American twenties, a sort of musical potpourri of "Ochi Chorniye" and ragtime. But these are only the basic ingredients. As whipped cream, hot butterscotch syrup and maraschino cherry on top of a delectable theatrical sundae, the producers in the goodness of their hearts have chosen to give us . . . Vivien Leigh.

And she, ladies and gentlemen, is the ball game. From the moment she bursts breathlessly into the garret,

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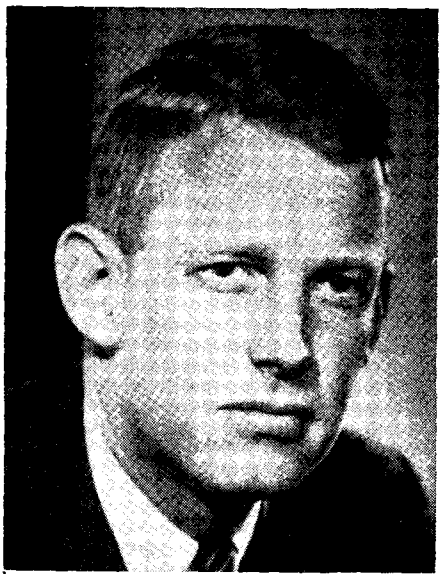

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L. Brent Bozell, author, lecturer, attorney and co-author of *McCarthy and His Enemies* with Wm. F. Buckley Jr., will accept invitations now to lecture and debate around the country next fall. Well-known for his brilliant debating talents, Mr. Bozell is one of those unusual public figures who speak as well as they write.

Your university or club can also write now for openings in the fall schedules of our other speakers: Miguel Kohly, expert in the field of inter-American relations; Frank S. Meyer, author of *In Defense Of Freedom: A Conservative Credo;* Thomas Molnar, writer and spokesman for the conservative position; Russell Kirk, syndicated columnist, editor, professor of politics; Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, humanist and lecturer; Wm. F. Buckley Jr., editor of National Review and best-selling author of *Rumbles Left And Right;* William A. Rusher, publisher of National Review and former counsel to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; William Rickenbacker, a dynamic young editor and colorful speaker; Ernest van den Haag, professor of social philosophy; and Willmoore Kendall, Rhodes Scholar and Senior Editor of National Review.

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arms filled with stolen groceries, she is the show. For Miss Leigh, time appears to have stood still. Tara is long gone; it's a quarter of a century since we saw Atlanta burn, but Vivien Leigh seems not to know it. She glides into a room with the grace of a young Scarlett; her waist would fit in that same whalebone corset; if there are wrinkles around her eyes and mouth, the audience doesn't see them. She speaks and sings with just the right trace of Russian guttural. She's too good an artist to overdo the accent. Her voice—well, let's face it: she's not Julie Andrews, but there's an attractive husky note to it like the early Dietrich. And when she whirls through the "Wilkes-Barre, P.A." Charleston with young Byron Mitchell, an extraordinarily talented dancer, she brings down the house.

Mitchell and Margery Gray, the young son and daughter of the Davises who fall in love with Tatiana and Mikail, are also well worth mentioning. They team up in two hilarious song-and-dances, "Stuck with Each Other" and "Uh-Oh," the latter a routine in striped red and white pajamas in which they bewail having fallen in love with the butler and the maid.

If there's a major flaw in *Tovarich*, and there is, it is that it reaches a climax in the final scene of the first act, so that Act II is—as so often happens in musicals—a comedown, a fairly routine disentanglement of the plot. But what a scene, Scene Last, Act I is.

Tatiana and Mikail are now settled in as the most satisfactory domestic couple of all time at the Paris home of the Davises. The occasion is a formal dinner for the leading oil "tycoons and tycoonesses" of the world. The tycoons and tycoonesses are togged out fit to kill, the men with medals and rosettes dripping from dinner jackets, the women ornately bejeweled and bedecked. They sing a little song: a toast to their mutual oil, the refrain of which is the delightful sentiment, "We'll be so happy with a small cartel" (interrupted occasionally by one lady who insists that she had understood she was to get "Royal Dutch Shell"). Then they catch sight of the Grand Duchess in black uniform, apron and cap, passing the hors d'oeuvres. The guests sweep to the floor in deep curtseys and bows to the astonish-

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ment of the good Mr. and Mrs. Davis. At this point, enter Comrade Gorovchenko, a dapper devil in white tie and tails. Mikail draws a formidable-looking pistol. The ladies—all but Tatiana and Mrs. Davis—faint into the arms of assorted gentlemen (or strategically placed chairs). Mikail pulls the trigger, and produces a light for Gorovchenko's cigar.

The oldest chestnut in the business? Right. And does it work? Gorgeously. But only because it's that kind of show. And the reason it's doing so well (Miss Leigh's contribution aside) is probably because it had the good fortune to open during the newspaper strike when the critics were unable to tell the great theater-going public how too utterly unsophisticated *Tovarich* was.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

MAN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, by Charles Malik (Harper, $5.00). The author of this stimulating group of essays was the long-time UN delegate from Lebanon, a President of the General Assembly, and one of the drafters of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Despite these credentials, his books has not pleased the Establishment. Justly so. Mr. Malik is an anti-Communist who knows that Western foreign policy has been predicated on a series of false assumptions about the nature of Communism, and on a disastrously faint regard for the eternal values of Western civilization. Why, he asks, should a UN vote against the West not have costly consequences for a "neutralist," instead of being the occasion for increased foreign aid? He calls for a revolutionary counteroffensive against Communism on all fronts, using guerrilla and psywar tactics. If his enthusiasm for the UN seems anomalous, it is understandable in one who thinks the West should use the General Assembly as a showcase for its pride and determination, rather than an East River Mount Caucasus where the vultures daily feed on its liver.

D. G. M. COXE

BOSWELL: THE OMINOUS YEARS, 1774-1776, edited by Charles Ryskamp and Frederick A. Pottle (McGraw-Hill, $8.50). The journals of Boswell are becoming, for our time, what the letters of Cicero were for the men of the Renaissance—a fascinating, disconcerting image of man's complexity. The only thing to compete with it for range and depth of exploration in the central mystery of man is Boswell's own life of Johnson. The author of the greatest biography is now the author *and subject* of the runner-up in this genre. The present volume, ninth in a series with an open end, takes Boswell from age 34 to 36, Johnson from 65 to 67, a period climaxed by the famous encounter so adroitly stage-managed by Boswell—between the Great Cham and Wilkes, the Great Atheist. The editors find this an ominous period, during which the Edinburgh lawyer grew increasingly dissatisfied with his profession and his dissipations, neither of which he could escape despite sporadic efforts. Perhaps these experts in Boswelliana see too much of their subject's dark future in his middle-age hangovers and discouragements; but we owe them a great debt for the learning with which they annotate this amazing series of volumes. And the marvel behind it all remains Boswell, the brilliant recorder of his own mediocrity, the genius eavesdropping on the fool, reminding us how disconcerting it is to look honestly into one's own heart.

G. WILLS

CHINA'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY, by Herbert Passin (Praeger, $5.00). Those who are now wearily turning the endless pages of Edgar Snow's latest paean to Peiping (*The Other Side of the River*) might pause in that futile task and take a look at Passin's little piece on the gullibility of Westerners in Communist China. Passin shows how the Chicoms make the most of the propaganda possibilities in cultural exchanges, and how they exploit the enthusiastic credulity of such supposedly sophisticated sightseers as Snow, A. J. Ayer, Pietro Nenni, Lord Boyd-Orr and Peter Townsend—not to mention those earlier hordes of Indians. In spite of its solid research and logic of argument, Passin's work will probably be ignored in favor of the post-IPR pro-Chinese school of Barnetts, Boddes and Snows.

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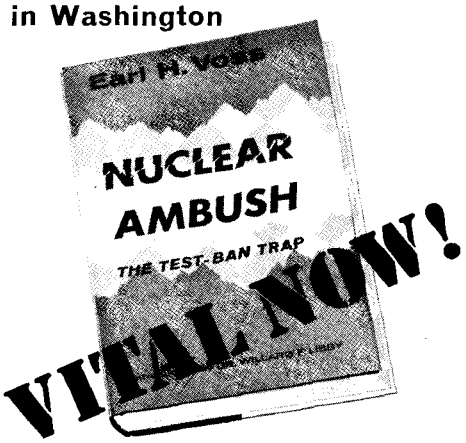

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She objected to our publishing Alice Leone-Moats' "Can *Anyone* Free Cardinal Mindszenty?" (NR, *June 18*).

"What I like about you people is your nerve," wrote a gentleman from Scarsdale, adding: "You say things nobody else will." He was complimenting us on Gary Wills' fine article on the controversial James Baldwin ("What Color Is God?"–NR, *May 21*).

And so it goes.

Every issue of *National Review* seems to provoke its own personal uproar. The noise about James Burnham's dissection of the ADA ("Does ADA Run the New Frontier?"–NR, *May 7*) hasn't even begun to die down: nor, for that matter, has the buzzing about William Rusher's "Crossroads for the GOP" (NR, *Feb. 12*), which outlined a Goldwater strategy for defeating Kennedy in '64.

Just pick it up and you can hear the roar

And as our mail increases, so does the pleasure of publishing *National Review*. It makes us feel we were right, a few years ago, in deciding that *many* people would enjoy a magazine that actually had something to *say*.

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Total Liabilities	$200,633,694.23	$410,582,550.69	$498,691,540.45
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To the Editor

Pope Pius XIII?

Both the cover and the article on Cardinal Mindszenty [June 18] were powerful.

He is the obvious choice for the next Pope—his unwillingness to participate in betrayal marks him as a saint.

Boston, Mass. JOHN FLAHERTY

Monnerot on Split

Congratulations to Jules Monnerot on his analysis of Red Chinese strength in his article on the Sino-Soviet split [June 4].

I have always felt that China is a "paper tiger" and will be through my lifetime. China will need two things to become a world power: a stockpile of assorted A- and H-bombs and an accurate high-speed delivery system. When China explodes her first test bomb, no doubt she will do a lot of growling. This will be like a robber walking into a bank with a .38-caliber bullet in his hand yelling, "Stick 'em up."

Sunnyvale, Calif. ROBERT ZILLER

Whimsey is all very well, NATIONAL REVIEW, but come clean now. Is Jules Monnerot really Walter Lippmann in disguise?

Inglewood, Calif. NOEL F. PETERSON

Your introduction of me to your readers [In This Issue, June 4] calls for certain clarifications on my part. While I was born in the French Antilles, I am purely and simply French, and will not be any the less French when the genius and zeal with which General de Gaulle pursues his policy of decolonization will have reached even Guadeloupe and Martinique.

As to my political convictions, I am a European nationalist, which is the best way, in 1963, to be a French nationalist.

After having taken part in the Resistance in the group "Ceux de la Libération," I became a member of the Conseil National du Rassemblement du Peuple Français [the party] founded by General de Gaulle in 1947. I broke with General de Gaulle in 1959 because his Algerian policy was leading toward the abandonment, now completed, of a million Frenchmen and because his policy toward the Communists inside France itself consists in a hands-off attitude toward those in powerful positions, particularly in the Department of National Education.

As a specialist in the field, I deplore the allegations, without basis of truth on this subject, which appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW [To the Editor, May 21] over the signature of the Archduke Otto of Habsburg, which have been contradicted on all sides. I would like, also, to take this opportunity to commend NATIONAL REVIEW for its lucid stand on Communism.

JULES MONNEROT

Boulogne-sur-Seine, France

Definition

Your short article on Pope John and the need for a return to "the life of definition" [June 18] was perceptive. Would that his death had brought forth others like it!

Of course, one of the tensions that men of good will always face is the one between definition (justice) and love. In Tillich's thought, we seek the latter, always by means of the former. In a way you seemed to acknowledge this at the end.

Also (in the interests of definition), please rethink your own statement that "Christ loved all men because he *made* them, and because they have it *within their power* to redeem themselves" (my italics). What you mean is clear within the context, but by the standards of Trinitarian definition you are misleading. This is a theological area which is most important to get straight in this "do-it-yourself" age. Remember that Pelagius was excommunicated for saying the same thing!

Mamaroneck, N.Y. REV. G. M. ARMSTRONG

Voltaire Mellowed

In his article "Birmingham and After" [May 21], William Buckley writes, "If I may say so, unlike Voltaire I would myself not be prepared to die for the right of a Rockwell to exercise his malevolent lunacies." Presumably Mr. Buckley is referring to the statement, "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it," popularly ascribed to Voltaire.

Scholars have proven quite conclusively that Voltaire never wrote or said it. In actuality, he wrote, "Think for yourselves and let others enjoy the privilege to do so."

The responsibility for the commonly quoted lines belongs to a lady editor who, fearing that the master recalcitrant had temporarily lost his eloquence, took the liberty of helping him to express himself.

Brooklyn, N.Y. LEONARD JOSEPHSON

White Man's Unions

Miss Bain does well [June 4] to spotlight labor's hypocrisy on the Negro question. Yet I think she falls short of the solution, which is the free market. Restore to employers and workers their natural right to make their own job arrangements, and discrimination should in time take care of

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"I see . . . with deepest affliction, the rapid strides with which the Federal branch of our government is advancing toward the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the states, and the consolidation in itself of all powers, foreign and domestic; and that, too, by constructions which, if legitimate, leave no limits to their power. Take together the decisions of the Federal court, the doctrines of the President, and the misconstructions of the constitutional compact acted on by the legislature of the Federal branch, and it is but too evident that the three ruling branches of that department are in combination to strip their colleagues, the state authorities, of the powers reserved by them, and to exercise themselves all functions foreign and domestic."

Thomas Jefferson

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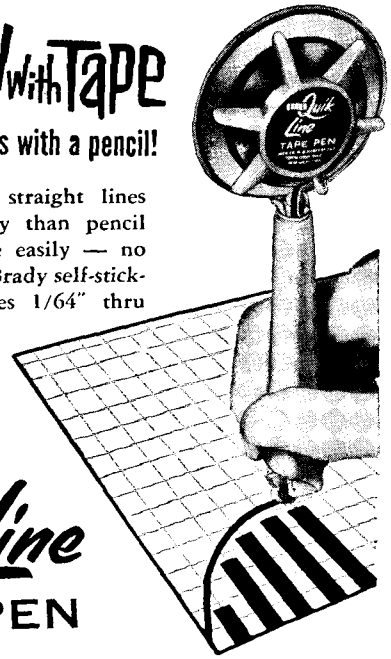

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itself. I doubt that many employers are such dogged white supremacists that they would hire an incompetent paleface over a capable Negro. Willie Mays has a good job.

To be sure, Negroes as a group seem loath to leave the womb of welfarism. But the abler ones have little to fear. Talent is always in demand. And as talented Negroes make their way (no doubt with more than the usual difficulty), they can hold their heads that much higher for having made it on their ability, not their color.

Pelham Manor, N.Y. NEIL MCCAFFREY

Hobson's Choice

I want my full subscription's worth. Why didn't *NR* have an advance report on the Profumo sex scandal? Doesn't your man in London keep his ear to the ground? Or was he in on the fun, too?

Washington, D.C. RONALD HARNER

Our man in London is quite a man. He can be in on the fun with his ear to the ground. See p. 528. —ED.

Abominate the Ban

I think that the time has come for mass protests and demonstrations by the workers. We must have ACTION before it is too late!

The weather we've had lately in New England, added to the ill-health of so many, should be a clear indication of the problem. I've been ill before, but never as I am now with such varied symptoms and no definite diagnosis.

We all know what's wrong. It's up to you to warn the world. I was perfectly O.K. until they *stopped* nuclear bomb testing. You've got to organize student groups and workers to protest this outrage.

Let's show the Administration we mean business. START TESTING AGAIN BEFORE IT PROVES TO BE A HEALTH HAZARD TO UNBORN GENERATIONS.

Waltham, Mass. LAURENCE T. MAY JR.

Erratum

We must ask that you correct your statement [June 18] regarding the murder of the misguided William Moore. You said the event took place while he was marching through Tennessee. Forgive us Andrew Jackson, but don't blame us for a crime that occurred in Alabama.

Memphis, Tenn. JAMES MADISON BARR

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(Continued from p. 529)

resisted the pressure of his own party in his determination to force a pretty dirty and dangerous affair into the open. Lords Hailsham and Home have confirmed the general trust they have always enjoyed by their grim and ominous silence. Lord Poole, joint chairman of the Tory Party with Iain Macleod, has behaved with the total integrity and dignity that all those who know him have always taken for granted.

Five. Boodles. The late Professor C.E.M. Joad was a member of the Reform Club. For some years he was a national figure, making a great deal of money as a newspaper columnist, member of the BBC Brains Trust and as a performer in film advertisements. He was caught traveling beyond his destination by a railway inspector and he tried to wriggle out by lying. I understand that he was required to leave the Reform Club.

The Reform is an intellectual and not a social club. Boodles is very much a social club, a club for "gentlemen." Profumo is a member. What will the committee do? For all I know, the committee may already have decided on action. If not, then the moral and social rot is very far gone.

I am writing on June 12. Before this piece reaches New York, telegrams saying "Fly, all is discovered" may have sent a handful of notables to places where "there ain't no extradition." The whole political roof may have fallen in. The Palace of Westminster may well be on fire. Guy Fawkes (late of St. Peter's School, York) may have returned in ghostly fashion to complete his well-intentioned work. Anything, but anything, can happen. The Great Seal may once again be cast into the Thames. There are no holds barred in this affair; there are no possibilities that may be counted impossible.

Politically, nothing can now save the Tory Party from destruction at the polls except the well-proven death wish of the Socialist Party. Time and again the bright boys of the Socialist Party have arrived, like Blücher at Waterloo, to save the day for their enemies.

But the political issue is no longer the primary issue, even for the hard-working Tory laborers in the field. The issue has now become a moral issue and a national issue.

Quite a lot will depend on Boodles.

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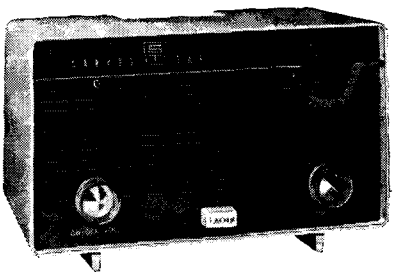

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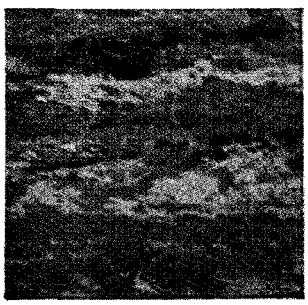

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